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A DISCUSSION ON
IQBAL'S
PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE

BY

Zaka-ul-Mulk, Khawja
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Preface

Iqbal is now accepted as one of the makers of the new Muslim nation of Pakistan. He is a leader of intelligensia and masses both. His philosophy, ideas and schemes are appearing in various forms, as books, pamphlets, lectures, discussions and "Iqbal days." Special numbers are being published by journals and papers which wholly or partly describe the teachings of Iqbal. Sadiq Egerton College, Bahawalpur published 'Iqbal Number' of its Magazine *The Oasis*, in April 1941. *Iqbal's Philosophy of Life*, from my pen, appeared as the first article in it and covered 87 pages. This long article on Iqbal has served as the basis of the present monograph, now named: 'A discussion on Iqbal's Philosophy of Life.' It has now been revised, enlarged and thoroughly recast. The forefront and the background have been improved and matter has been added. Now it is better food for thought, and serves as a thought provoking agent for a cultured man.

The Foreword which appeared in the *Oasis*, from the pen of the Director of the Magazine is given below.

"This long article on Iqbal's philosophy of life has been written by our talented Professor

Dr. M. Shuja Namus. It is an original contribution to Iqbalian literature, and we are justly proud to publish it. It is a credit to the *Oasis* to secure articles of such outstanding merit and high literary quality.

"Being a scholar of Arabic and Persian, and having travelled in the Arabic and Persian speaking areas, Dr. Shuja is qualified to fully understand the language of the great 'Poet of the East.' Being a student of Islamic literature he is in a position to understand the numerous references to Muslim history and Muslim literature which occur in Iqbal. Throughout his writings Iqbal has made a full use of these references. His poetry is saturated with the incidents and facts of Muslim history. To understand and enjoy Iqbal, we must have a thorough knowledge not only of Persian and Arabic but also of Muslim history, culture, and literature.

"Dr. Namus is competent to write on Iqbal because of these qualifications and because he had intimate literary connections with the poet. We have many a time heard from him lectures and speeches on various aspects of Iqbal, and now he has written out for us one phase of the mental activities of the great philosopher. You will find at places in this article the sweatness of personal contact, and the confidence of direct touch with the great poet.

"We take pride in publishing with this article an unpublished and unique photograph of Dr. Iqbal. In this photograph you find Dr. Iqbal and the

author of this article discussing the poetry of Iqbal. The book, *Piyam-i-Mashriq*, is in the hands of Dr. Namus. We also take pride in publishing an unpublished letter of Dr. Iqbal written to Professor Shuja.

"We have been fortunate enough to prevail upon Dr. Namus to yield his treasures to which request he would not have agreed if made by other persons. We hope the article, which is an original contribution to Iqbalian literature, will be appreciated by our readers."

The letter and the photograph mentioned above, have been included in this book. The influence of Iqbal on the people is great. He is accepted as the greatest Urdu poet of his age. He is a philosopher and a thinker: a spirit which has revolutionized the thought of the whole East. His philosophy has penetrated the West; and he is the subject of discussion in many study circles. He deserves being understood better than the efforts made by us at present. But the best method is to study him directly and not through his commentators. I have given in this monograph the thought which *his* pen wrote. His original ideas are given, in a direct form. Then there is a discussion on his philosophy.

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A DISCUSSION ON 'PIYAM-I-MASHRIQ'

(1932)

Dr. Sir MOHAMMAD IQBAL.

Knight: M.A. (Pb) Ph.D. (Munich); Bar-at-Law;
D. Litt. Hon. (Pb.); D. Litt. Hon. (Alig.)

Dr. NAMUS

The Author.

Introduction

A 'Preface to the Monograph' appeared, when it was published as an article in the *Oasis*. A part of it is repeated here. The credit or discredit of getting the article written, with its virtues or faults, goes to the editor of the English Section of this Magazine (the *Oasis*). He requested me so many times and in such terms that I did not like to refuse him. He knew about my study of, and connections with Iqbal. He knew that I had been connected with Iqbal for a long time in the literary sphere. I had chances of discussing with him the various points given by him in his works. I went to Persia for study and research. After that we became much more intimate because his vehicle of thought was Persian. It was Iqbal, who invited the attention of the Panjab University and Muslim savants towards the idea, that research work should be done in the field of Muslim sciences. This field was still virgin and the contribution of the Muslims in sciences was unknown to the world. I took it up. Originally I was an M.Sc. Having been inspired in certain ways in the company of Iqbal, I continued to put in hard efforts for the systematic study of Persian and Arabic. I passed my M.A. in Persian, and

another M.A. in Arabic. After that I requested Iqbal to help me in finding a suitable subject for research work in Muslim sciences; and he did so. As he believed it was originally his idea, he felt much interested in my research work. We often sat together for long periods discussing various points in the thesis. This gave me a chance of being in his company more often than we could meet otherwise. Then our friendship, or if you prefer to call it relation of teacher and student, was purely literary; because that was our common ground. The moment we were together the talk reverted to literary and learned subjects instead of household or social or political affairs. Iqbal by that time had finished a large part of his literary productions. His ideas were set and he knew what he had done and what he meant by that. I was also at that time a professor in the college with developed intellect. With the knowledge and languages at my command it was quite easy to understand Iqbal. We sometimes had a lively discussion on the points discussed by him in his works. The apparent object of our meeting on a certain day; the discussion of some part of my research work or his future programme, was over. We sat in a leisurely mood. I would recite a couplet from some modern Persian poet and then a verse or two from Iqbal. I purposely gave some ideas which would touch on the subject but were not of Iqbal. Iqbal refuted them and gave his exact ideas and what he meant by them.

In this way gradually I passed through the spirit of his philosophy, having received it directly from the fountain-head. But Iqbal was a very sensitive man on this point. He would answer no such questions directly. If anybody would put a direct question, "Doctor Sahib, (that is how we used to address him) what is the exact idea or meaning behind this verse of yours." Hundred per cent he will not answer it, as it should be answered. He would evade it. "Think of it yourself," would be the answer. "I do not wish that people should give specific meanings to my verses because that spoils the beauty of poetry and if I give the meaning from my tongue the meaning becomes specific." But my case was different. The common ground of meeting was loved by both of us and was indivisible. Then it was a lively literary discussion which followed and Iqbal always liked it. The higher the flight of thought, the more difficult and complicated the arguments, the more happy he was. Then he became real Iqbal. He soared high and dived deep. He always brought forth arguments from the earth, from the sky, from religion, from monotheism or atheism, physics or metaphysics, history or philosophy. It was not possible to beat him, if even you go prepared with ready arguments and well planned line of action. He knew from the first part of the argument what you are driving at in the second part of it. When you have given out your second argument, he conceived your

line of thought. He would change your line of thought in the second argument and by force of logic would refuse to go back to it. You did not know what to do because your head is full of a certain philosophy which you have already prepared. Iqbal himself did not get in those days many such chances of real intellectual pleasure, so unconsciously he started the discussion and during the discourse points of his philosophy were being solved. I mean, this gave me an insight regarding his ideas on various subjects which he had discussed in his works. No doubt, he was a tower of intellect, a genius of the first order, a man with a very strong memory, a quick-witted person with such a vast store of learning in his head, that we would easily call him a moving library. He commanded many subjects and gave to the enquirer as much as he could withstand. But in his days he was a huge reader also, and in later life he used to hear. I helped Iqbal in certain ways regarding the study and collection of material in some of his literary activities. When I was there, it is clear that a part of such work, in his literary company, would fall to the lot of the literary companions. In very hot weather you would find him in a plain white loin cloth and a banyan. He wanted to remain simple. No stranger would say he is that storehouse of learning and storm of fire which has given a new soul to the Muslim East. If you talk to him, you would find him very simple in

talk also. He used to talk to people according to their intellects and capacities and nobody can exactly judge the capacity of an unknown man from his face. More often than not, Iqbal used to talk in Panjabi. When he talked in other languages, English or Urdu, it was easy to discern Panjabi accent in his speech. Many visitors came to see him from far and near. It was possible for him to sit silent for long period, when a stranger sat watching him. He did not know what to talk to the man and would remain silent until the other man talked. It was only in a discussion or in the flight of arguments that you could see real Iqbal. Otherwise under the ordinary circumstances, he was an ordinary person: jolly, ready with an appropriate joke and accommodating in a friendly mood. He was slow in movement and inactive in habits. But at the time of mental ecstasy he would throw off his lethargy, body and limbs seemed to be full of energy and fire. His face would sometimes be flushed with red rose blood, his small bluish eyes would begin to sparkle and one would feel that he is not the same man with whom he was talking sometime ago. During moments of mental excitement and intellectual exertion, he became active, his face became slightly stiffer, his eyes shone and he seemed to be full of vigour. Then he became the philosopher, the poet, the thinker, who could pierce through the skies and reach the throne of God, who could go down the depth of the deep

seas and calculate the treasures which they contained, who could go forward into space: probe through the darkness of future and describe what the destiny has got in store for us. Then he was real Iqbal. This was on limited occasions, when proper atmosphere was created for such a huge personality to come out of its material garb and to shed the radiance of its presence on those who were present.

Iqbal disliked being called an 'Ustad'. He never accepted the high honour of becoming the 'Ustad' in poetry of any person. He was accepted as a poet of high talents and high merits. Many persons, rich and poor, men and women wrote to him or requested him to correct their pieces of poetry but he never accepted this Ustadship. He was above the trifles of life. He called himself like myself a Qalandar and Darvish. To me he sometimes in a jocular mood would say, "Hullo! Qalandar Sahib, you have come." This meant that I had come to Lahore, because I lived at Bahawalpur and did not get many chances of going to Lahore. In my letters I wrote to him sometime, "Qalandar Munimi wishes to write to you thus..." He got those words and liked to repeat them.

It was unfortunate that we could not meet very frequently. I lived at Bahawalpur and could see Iqbal only when I went to Lahore. During the period which extends between my coming back from Persia and the finishing of my research

work for thesis the meetings were sufficiently frequent. Research work, study and business took me to Lahore and then I must see the 'Ustad'. I believe now the kind hearted guru, watching me with his sweet smiling gaze from his heights in heaven, will not mind it. It is not possible for anybody to forget Iqbal, if he has seen real Iqbal; I mean not his material body but the poet and thinker inside him. He was such a charming friend. Even with juniors he would talk politely and behave in a free and friendly way. He would relate incidents from his early life, life in Europe, incidents during tours and meeting with learned men of the world. When in privacy, and he knew that he was not being overheard, he would relate anecdotes of his young days, funny stories that he had heard, Persian and Arabic idioms and anecdotes full of pleasure and fun.

CHAPTER I

Iqbal's Place in Space

Iqbal was born at Sialkot in 1876 and died at Lahore in April 1938. He lived in a period when Indian Muslims had ceased to be the dominant factor in Indian politics after the mutiny of 1857. The archæological monuments of the Muslim Period, however, were still numerous and the memories of the glorious deeds of Muslim conquerors were still fresh. The period of decadence of Muslim thought and creative genius in India, began with their political decline about a century and a half before Iqbal's time.

It will be worthwhile taking the group of three great Muslim poets of India as a whole, who are responsible for moulding into shape the poetic thought of Muslim India as we find it to-day; I mean Ghalib, Hali and Iqbal. All three wrote in Persian and Urdu. The larger portion of Ghalib's intellectual creations is in Persian and he takes pride in it.

..3 2~

See my Persian (writings), which is my Aryang (Picture Album). What is pride for you, is infamy for me.

(*Aryang* is also the name of that special Picture Album, which Mani the great Persian painter prepared; and on the merits of which he claimed to be a prophet).

The couplet is directed against Zauq, the Ustad of the last Mughal Emperor, Bahadur Shah who wrote in Urdu only. By the word A'nchihi is meant Urdu, the medium in which Zauq wrote. But in the days of Ghalib Persian still held the exalted position of being the court language and the language of the higher circles of India. His fame to-day, however, rests on his Urdu works. He is the inventor of the chiselled style of Urdu prose in which we write to-day. He was not a man of the age in which he lived. His foresight belonged to the future age and through his prophetic genius he could judge what trend the literary thought of world would take. His Urdu poetry served and still serves as a model for many young poets of India. Hali wrote in Urdu as well as Persian, but Urdu was his main vehicle of thought: the language which people could understand. He wanted to convey a message to the Muslim masses and that he could do in Urdu: their language. Iqbal wrote in Urdu and Persian but his most important works are in Persian. His fame will rest on his Persian productions rather than on his Urdu poetry. According to some estimates Iqbal missed a great opportunity. He should have devoted greater energies to Urdu. He had the gift and the requisite intellectual powers and material at his command but he did

not direct his powers towards that aim. His message would have been more widespread in India, his genius more understood and appreciated, and with his message he could inspire the Urdu reading public of India with a new style or a modern social order. Iqbal could have carried the modernization of Urdu a step farther. He could enlarge the outlook of Urdu readers and could fill their hearts with tendencies which would be useful in future. But Iqbal did not do so. He talked in mystic Persian of the medieval ages. He gave a message but the spirit of the message always remained mystic. Iqbal was a genius of varied interests. Having been in his company for many years, I know he was a well-read man. He had varied interests and could talk with confidence on many subjects. In Islamics he was an authority. He had seen the world. He got his education in Europe and knew European methods very well. He was in touch with the literary and psychological changes of the modern world. But he refused to make use of all this knowledge in the main part of his works. At the end of his life he produced some Urdu pieces which incorporated these features, probably under constant pressure of his admiring circle of literary friends. The volume is small and old age combined with weak health of that period did not allow the poet to put the fire of his previous days in it. Iqbal's style of Urdu poetry served as a model for certain young poets

between 1910 and 1930, when the *Shikwa* of the living poet was sounding in everybody's ear. The zeal died because this style did not cover all the fields and was rather small in volume.

His Persian style is based on medieval classical Persian poetry. The greatest mystic poet Jalal-ud-Din Rumi, whose *Mathnawi* is a treasure of Persian literature, in fact a bright gem in the literature of the world, is his teacher. Iqbal says himself :

پیر رومی خاک را اکسیر کرد از غبارم جلوه ها تعمیر کرد
من که مستی ها ز صهباشش کدم زندگانی از نفسهاشش کدم

The Pir of Rum (Jalal-ud-Din Rumi) has transmuted my dust into elixir. He has built up many (new) sights from my cloud of dust. I enjoy the moments of intoxication by his wine. My life depends on his breaths.

Thus he adheres in conventions and style to the poets of the medieval period. Modern Persian scholars are trying to get over this style and they have already placed in the literary field an idiom which is at once forceful, precise and bright.

I very well remember three occasions on which, chance arose of discussing this point with 'Ustad' during the talk. He refused to admit the arguments forwarded, saying that his message was not meant for India alone. And here is the message of Iqbal in his own words, as given in the 'Introduction' to the first edition of *Piam-i-Mashriq* (page ۷)

بعد لکھا گیا ہے مہجے کچھ مرض کرنے کی ضرورت نہیں -
 ناظرین خود اندازہ کر لینگے کہ اس کا مدعا زیادہ تر ان
 اخلاقی مذہبی اور ملی حقائق کو پیش نظر لانا ہے جن
 کا تعلق افراد و اقوام کی باطنی تربیت سے ہے

This message, Iqbal said, was meant for the whole Islamic World and Persian is lingua franca of the whole Muslim East. By writing in Persian the message can reach all the Muslim lands. In proof of my statement, I give below a copy of the letter written by Dr. Sir Iqbal to me:

لاریه ۳۰ خرداد ۱۳۲۶

در خلد اسحاق --

[illegible]

مدرسہ محمدیہ

Once we three young men forwarded reason after reason in favour of Urdu. This was in the later years of his life: the last period of sickness about five years before his death. The poet partly due to his conviction of success and partly due to sickness had become sensitive. When Doctor Sahib, as we used to call him, found that the reasons advanced were sufficiently strong, he stopped us by saying, "I have got my own ideas and they have been known to the world in a certain shape. Now I cannot change them."

Now let us, for a moment, analyse the development of thought in Muslim circles, through the literary productions of the three poets mentioned above: Ghalib, Hali and Iqbal. Ghalib witnessed the mutiny, the change of political power from the Muslim to British rulers. He saw the disastrous sequel of the political revolution. He lamented the social changes. He himself suffered in this period of rowdiness. His writings reflect the image of the happenings which took place in his days. Despair, no confidence, and vanquished hopes are hidden in the words which fall from his pen but he adds a dominant note to all these. It is a note of warning and hope. He interpreted the inner revolution by saying that we should change if time has changed. He said now our hopes lie in the future and we should help ourselves; this was inherently included in the song of despair which Ghalib sang. The Aligarh educational movement came into existence. This

trained the thoughts of Indian Muslims on the lines of the modern ideas—the ideas which emanated from the West. Thus a new current started in Muslim literature : prose and poetry.

Hali published his *Musaddas* in 1879 (about the death of Ghalib). He was associated with Sir Sayyed Ahmad Khan the founder of the Aligarh movement. He flourished in a period when Western thought had found a landing in the Indian soil. It gave promise of worldly gain and cultural attainment. Western education was a channel through which government posts could be obtained and thus political power regained. Hali reviewed the Muslim past and argued that tendencies of progress and change were an inherent factor of Muslim civilization. He appealed to the people to march with the time and to adapt themselves to the new circumstances. People respected his words because they found him to be the spirit of the age.

The most active period of Iqbal's mental laboratory can be placed between 1910 and 1935. His famous Persian work *Asrar-i-Khudi* [Secrets of the Self (or the Ego)] appeared in 1915. When Iqbal's mind became active, it found an atmosphere in which Western Ideas had overpowered the Eastern thought. India had taken an overdose. The weak points of Western civilization became clear. Everywhere in India there were movements to harmonize and stabilize Indian

They wanted to go back to

culture. Indian music, painting, dancing and manners, all were revived. Iqbal was a scholar of Islam. His mind was full of Islamic learning and traditions. We make use of the store of knowledge at our command when expressing ourselves. So did Iqbal. His source of inspiration is the Quran and Hadith. He frequently draws from the cultural and literary traditions of Islam. But Iqbal only refers to the traditions of the most vigorous days, as he used to say. With this Iqbal had learnt modern philosophy as a student. He does not agree with its conclusions. He rather fiercely criticises it and rejects its proofs. He denounces the philosophy of Plato as harmful to the development of Self and Community. Nietzsche and Karl Marx are taken as representatives of the Western material world, which Iqbal does not like.

Islam, he says, is non-racial, non-national in spirit: a common brotherhood of mankind whose sphere extends from pole to pole. It does not allow imperialism and materialism; it develops society on democratic basis. Europe on the other hand has based its civilization on imperialism and materialism. In the eyes of Iqbal the democratic countries of modern Europe are in fact autocracies. The power is in the hands of the few and the same corruptions which are the result of autocracy prevail in these lands. He illustrates the mentality of Europe by referring to great personalities of Europe like Kitchner, and describes the Islamic ideal by referring to Eastern names like Jamal-ud-Din Afghani, etc. He has stamped many titles

and phrases, which appear more or less as slogans throughout his works. A word means a certain process or action or phenomenon : ' Khwaja ' (capitalist), ' Banda or Mazdur ' (labourer) ; ' Sha'hin ' (ruler or aggressor), ' Kabutar ' (the ruled or down trodden). Iqbal expresses his views by making use of terms like, Outer Good, Inward Eye, Capitalism, Socialism, Freedom, Slavery, Imperialism, etc. The League of Nations according to him is a farce : an assembly of grave-cloth thieves.

I do not know more than this, that a few thieves of grave-cloth, have instituted a society to distribute graves (among themselves).

The League in fact has not achieved much of practical value. It is a model of idealistic futility. European civilization he believes has by this time, served the purpose for which it came into existence. It has become deteriorated by eliminating religion. It will wage a war against itself and thus will be annihilated. Iqbal's views regarding social, political and economic life of Europe are tainted by these under-currents of thought. Due to political reasons perhaps, the young generation of India created such thoughts in their minds. This was one solution of the problem, how India and East could free themselves from European aggression. Some of the European philosophers expressed the same views before him and propounded reasons to prove that European

nations will fight among themselves and European civilization will perish. Iqbal takes delight in repeatedly dilating on the subject. However there is another section of critics in the East and West, who lead the majority: they are quite optimistic about the future of European civilization. It is a curious fact that those very creative minds who have drunk deepest at the fountain-head of European civilization have turned round to become its bitterest critics. This fact is regarded by some as a proof to the conclusion that European civilization has deteriorated. It cannot continue to survive in the hard trials of practical life, with those basic principles on which it stands at present.

As regards the development, progress and perfection of a person or of a community Iqbal has developed a philosophy of his own which may be called Iqbalism. His standards of judgment rest on the principles of Islam but not in that form as they have been expounded by the savants of Islam, ancient or modern. Iqbal has formulated his own philosophy regarding the various aspects of human activities: social, economic, personal or political. He preaches that the battles of life are fought with the aid of Firm Conviction, Consistent Action and Unceasing Love.

یقینِ محکم، عزمِ سیم، محبتِ فاتحِ عالم، جہادِ زندگانی میں ہیں یہ مردوں کی شمشیریں

Firm conviction, constant action, and love which conquers the world; these are the swords of men in the battle of life.

To attain Power, develop Force, Courage, and Personality, he gives a sermon of adaptation, change and swiftness to the lethargic world around him. He says life is a constant struggle—an ever-widening assimilative movement. It is Tension which makes us immortal. We should maintain this tension as Personality means tension. We should not be absorbed in the surrounding but should absorb the whole world in us. He hates timidity and apathy. Practical achievement has got great value with him.

He does not agree with the Sufi ideal *فنا في الله* to be *lost in God*. He wishes to develop Personality or Ego. He does not like to demolish Self. For preaching this ideal, he denounces Hafiz and Sa'di. It is a curious fact that he uses the same implements which he denounces. He writes in emotional language and possesses the charming sweetness of a mystic: the tone, the spirit is mystical.

Iqbal admits that Sufi Jalal-ud-Din Rumi is his guide and leader in thought, but he declares with vehemence that Sufi philosophy of innertness and aloofness from this world, is sapping the strength of Islam. The Sufi ascetic is so occupied with the thoughts of the other-world, that he does not take care to improve the world around him. Deterioration thus sets in due to neglect, and progress of the community is hindered. Iqbal calls it against the dictates of Islam, as Islam by nature is a progressive religion. Hence according

to him, this type of Sufi doctrines are free thought even Rationalism.¹ Iqbal throughout his works, with this conviction in view, wages a constant war against such Sufi ideals. With the same ideas in view he condemns the modern *Pirs* and *Gaddi-nasheens* of Dargahs. He calls them ignorant and blind; unfit to lead the masses on the right path. At one place he says, they are selling graves. Again he points out that these are pious shops where business of fraud in human souls is carried out.

Iqbal preaches modernism in action and progress, but he was born in that India, the atmosphere of which was covered by thick clouds of conservatism. He could not shake off that old mode of thought. As regards Woman and Education he writes (*Zarb-i-Kalim*, p. 95): It is doubtful whether this combination of modernism and conservatism can remain on friendly terms with one another on the road of progress. Probably he did not like to preach directly against the old type mulla. Being in near touch with the Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam, (he was its President for some years also) he did not like to say directly against the accepted practices of Islam as current in India although they may have been deteriorated in some forms.

Iqbal preached revolution of the extreme type for the individual and for society. His diction is full of vigour, his ideas explicit and his narrative full of charm. His poetry goes right into the

1. *Reconstruction of Religious Thought*, p. 211 (1930 edition).

heart. It is however static and comes to the reader in a sleepy mystic form. It sets up strong currents in his ideas, but does not produce a storm in his actions. It collects the gunpowder but the matchstick is missing. It is charged with heavy electric current but the switch and the switch-puller are absent. This, Iqbal purposely did not supply because of the political circumstances. He did not like to go to jail. He would have been called a revolutionary and would have missed the chance of propagating his message. Being in close touch with him, I have heard from his tongue a round about explanation of the same type. "The Government has bestowed upon me the title of 'Sir' and do they believe I am afraid of them." This confession means, that he was. When he says I am not afraid, his inner self is feeling the fear. In his heart he was not, but in his actions he was. For this reason in his earlier days of poetic activity he clothed the stronger revolutionary ideas in Persian—a language not much understood by the average man and above the criticism of the reporting policeman.

We have discussed above the basic metaphors and ideas which occur in Iqbal's works over and over again. These are the colours with which he paints his picture or factors which constitute his narrative. Now let us see his main theme of the philosophy of life. Iqbal urges that man should develop his Personality or Ego (Khudi) and thus attain to the status of a Perfect Man (Insan-i-

Kamil). *Asrar-i-Khudi* (published in 1915) and *Ramuz-i-Bekhudi* are the two most important works published early in his poetic career. The poet develops in these two books his main philosophy of life and discusses it in some detail. Other works which followed contain portions or touches of the same philosophy in one form or another. *Khudi* (Personality) with Iqbal is not a metaphysical speculation. He propounds this philosophy with the conviction of a prophet and invites the people to follow this doctrine. He finds a sorrowful and drowsy multitude of nations around him in the East. He wishes to wake them up and then to goad them towards action. This he says is possible through the development of Self: Personality, which he names *Khudi*. When the individual is developed, the group or the community will attain a higher standard of thought and action automatically as the group is constituted of individuals.

CHAPTER II

Asrar-i-Khudi

The best way to understand the doctrine of Khudi of Iqbal would be to study his two works, *Asrar-i-Khudi* and *Ramuz-i-Bekhudi* which deal on the subject. Let us pass through these books from one end to the other and find out what the gist of his philosophy is. After we have understood the main features of the theme, it will be possible for us to analyse the arguments and to co-relate one set of reasons with the other. We will thus be in a position to make a systematic study of the subject.

In this description of the two Mathnawis, I have quoted some original verses in the narrative. The criterion of selection of these verses is made up of the factor, which may be given here, before we proceed further. This will give the reader an idea why these very verses and not others have been selected. (1) The verse was of a high standard from the poetic point of view and in order to show the poetic powers of Iqbal it was selected. The study of these will delight the intelligent reader. (2) The verse was pithy and covered a vast ground of meaning. Hence instead of describing its subject matter in my words, it became necessary to give the original

(3) To illustrate the point of view of Iqbal, one or two verses from each argument were inserted.

I have also to explain my position for the language used at certain places in this exposition of Iqbal's philosophy. The idea is to study Iqbal. We can understand him more thoroughly the closer we remain to his original words. I have therefore not tried to use elegant English idiom, at the expense of the force or meaning of the true ideas of Iqbal. As far as possible, all through the narrative I have translated the verses of Iqbal keeping in tact the force, idiom and similies of the original text. Under these circumstances, English cannot be rigidly idiomatic or sweet. It may also be stated that the original verses quoted here, form a part of the line of discussion in my narrative. I have not rediscussed them in my words. I have added their translation to make the narrative continuous. We now revert to the book *Asrar-i-Khudi*, "Tamhid" of the book :

The poet in the 'Introduction' describes the powers of his thought and pen. He says, "I have brought forth those ideas in the world, which nobody else has discussed before. But people in general are not as yet aware of my philosophy. I am poet of the future."

نغمہ ام از خم بے پرواستم من زائے شاعر فرداستم

I am a musical note, which does not stand in need of plucking of the wire. I am the voice of the poet of Tomorrow,

The poets change the ideas of people but they must take time to do so, i.e., till their works are widely read and their philosophy is known to people.

*For many a poet has been born, after his death.
He closed his eyes (i.e., died), and opened our
eyes (by opening new channels of thought).*

I am a lover and my lamentation is Belief. There are many lightnings sleeping in my mind. The whole world is my field of action. And you know what I have done :

ذره از سوزِ نوا بیم زنده گشت پر گشت و در کب تابنده گشت

*A particle of dust was inspired with life by
the heat of my song.*

*It stretched out wings and became a luminous
firefly.*

Nobody else has revealed those secrets which I describe. If you want to know the secret of everlasting joy, if you want the earth and the sky, then 'come to me'. The aged heavens has told me this secret and I do not wish to hide it from my intimate friends.

I will lead the astray towards their goal. I will again recite from the great philosophy of Maulana Rum.

پیر دومی خاک را اکسیر کرد از بخار دم جلد به نام تعمیر کرد

The Pir (spiritual leader) of Rum (Jalal-ud-Din Rumi) has transmuted my dust into elixir. From the clouds of my dust he has constructed new sights.

Iqbal says that Rumi came to him in a dream and instructed him to propagate his philosophy in the world. Give a message, he said, to the nations of the world, and bring them to life again. Give them a new vigour and youth.

خیزو جان نوبده هر زنده را از قم خود زنده تر کن زنده را

Rumi said: O Iqbal! rise and give to every living soul a new life.

By your 'Qum' (rise; by saying this word: the word which angels will say to make the dead rise from the graves) infuse every living creature with more life.

For this reason I have raised the curtain from the face of Khudi; and I have disclosed the secrets of the miracles of Khudi. I have explained how the Muslim nation can continue to live and develop. I will make a drop equal in strength to an ocean and a particle will expand by growing till it becomes a desert.

My object in writing this Mathnawi has not been to impress my poetic powers.

شاعری زیر شنوی مقصود نیست و بت پرستی بت گری مقصود نیست

The purpose of this Mathnawi is not to broadcast poetry.

The worshipping of idols, and the making of idols is not the purpose.

I am an Indian and therefore it will not be possible for me to write elegant Persian. But I have selected this language as the vehicle of my thought because it agrees with the nature of my philosophy.

خردہ بر مینا گیر اے ہوش مند دل بدوقِ خردہ مینا بہ بند

If you have been endowed with sufficient intelligence, then do not criticise the goblet (in which the wine is contained : Persian language).

You bind your heart with the highly developed taste (and the pleasure that you get from it) of the wine (which you find remains) in the goblet.

The wine of the great Masters of Persian literature, who have flourished before my time, has been enjoyed by you. My wine is the lower small portion which has been left over in this cup.

You should benefit from the meanings of the discussion in this book.

The Discussion on Khudi: We have now finished the 'Introduction' of the book, *Asrar-i-Khudi*. And here begins the discussion of the main text of this book.

Iqbal says that the basis of the orderliness of universe is Khudi. The continuation of the existence of the individuality of objects is due to the firmness of Khudi.

پیکر ہستی ز آنا پر خودی است ہر چہ می بینی ز اسرارِ خودی است

The existence of Universe, in its material garb, is due to the effects of Khudi (on it). Everything which you see (around you in material shapes) is due to the secrets of Khudi.

Khudi inspires every object with the idea of its distinct individuality and in this way sows the seeds of strife. It brings forth excuses of higher values, civilization and culture, to demolish a whole garden in order to beautify its one rose. The whole universe and time, from the beginning to the end of universe, is the field of action of Khudi.

Khudi divides its flame into parts and teaches wisdom to worship 'Parts' (and not the object as a whole). Then the Parts get tired of the division and they unite together to form a mountain.

و نمودن خویش را خفته خودی است خفته در بر ذره نیست خودی است

It is in the nature of Khudi to manifest itself.

In every particle lies slumbering the prowess of Khudi.

Khudi is a silent force, which is restless for action, and it works through the causes and reasons of the practical world. The wave, as long as it is a wave, due to the inspiration of Khudi, rides on the shoulder of the ocean; otherwise it becomes water and goes down into the sea. The courage of the green growth, when it receives the inspiration from inside to grow, due to Khudi, tears open the breast of the garden. When Khudi unites together the forces of life, it can draw out an ocean from the stream of life.

Khudi can only remain alive when we create and provide it with aims and objects : some Motive to fulfil. Life is hidden in desire and search.

آرزو را در دل خود زنده دار تا نگردد مشت خاک تو مزار

*Keep 'desire' alive inside your heart,
Lest the handful of dust (which constitutes you)
is turned into a grave (a dead soul).*

Desire gives full vigour of action to Khudi and life dies, if desire dies inside it.

زندگی سراسر مایه دار از آرزوست عقل از زائیدگان بطن اوست

Life is full of various riches, by Desire. Intellect is one of those (babies) which are born from the inside of its body.

Khudi assumes many forms in practical life : organization of a nation, laws, customs, researches in various branches of knowledge. In the battle-field of life, man makes all these instruments for his own protection.

The object of research is not just to acquire knowledge, nor of garden the roses. Knowledge and arts are some of those factors which protect life and strengthen Khudi.

Khudi develops and becomes stronger by love. Khudi is the spark hidden inside the dust of which we are made. Love is the cause of its excitement and provides it with an incitement. It is the cause of the development of the hidden possibilities of Khudi.

Learn how to love. For this purpose follow

some spiritual leader. Like Rumi, light the candle of your heart, by becoming the disciple of some Shams Tabraizi. There is a beloved hidden inside your heart. Come along! I will show it to you, if you have got the eye to see it. His lovers are better than the beloveds and heart gains strength through his love. The dust rises to the skies. The centre of love for a Muslim is the Prophet of God—Mohammad.

دردِ مسلمتِ ہم مصطفیٰ است - آبروئے ما ز نامِ مصطفیٰ است

The high position of Mustafa (the Prophet) is in the heart of Muslims.

Our honour is dependent on the great name of Mustafa.

He lived in retirement in the cave of Hira and created a Nation, Laws and Government. He passed many sleepless nights so that the nation may sleep on a throne. In the battlefield his sword used to cut through iron but tears flowed out of his eyes when in prayers before God. He gave a new system of laws to the world. He opened the door of the world by the key of religion. He is our leader and protector.

We, the Muslims are not prisoners inside a geographical receptacle. The whole of the world is our home. We are all lovers of the Prophet. He removed all differences of caste, creed and colour.

چون گل صد برگ دارد ابریکست - دوست جانِ این نظامِ داد و دیکست

We have got the same perfume : like a flower which has one hundred petals in it (but one smell).

He (the Prophet) is the soul of this (Muslim) system; and he is one.

Iqbal says, I am a lover of the Prophet and follow him in all ways.

Love produces many virtues and one of them is to "follow" and to obey the words of the beloved.

عاشقی، محکم شواز تقیید یار تا کمند تو شود یزدان شکار

Are you a Lover? (If so) then acquire firmness by obedience to the Beloved.

Thus your noose will produce the capability of capturing God (even).

The Muslims should make themselves strong by dint of the love of the Prophet.

Khudi deteriorates by requesting and begging. Our requests to others kill our flight of imagination.

تاہر کے دریوزہ منصب کنی صورت طفلان نہئے مرکب کنی
فطرتے کو بر فلک بند نظر پست می گردوز احسان دگر

How long will you continue begging for posts and high offices.

(And) make toy horse of a reed, like children.

A human temperament, which has raised itself so high, that it fixes its gaze on the skies ;

Becomes degraded by accepting benedictions from others.

You should earn your livelihood by your own hard labour, so that on the day of Judgment, you

may not feel ashamed before the Prophet. Pray for your strength to God and do not demolish the the honour of the Muslim Nation by making requests to others. The Artisan is the friend of God ; because he earns by hard labour, but does not beg.

When Khudi becomes firm by love it conquers the hidden and apparent forces of the universe.

از محبت چوں خودی محکم شود ،
قوتش فرماندو عالم شود

When Khudi is strengthened by Love ;

Its prowess becomes the governor of the whole world.

Then Khudi, in the strife of the world becomes an umpire (arbitrator). Kings like Dara and Jamshaid are under its commands.

Iqbal now brings forth a novel argument regarding the propagation of the doctrine of self-negation or self-denial. He says that the conquered weak nations by this secret method, weaken the character of the dominant nation. It is one of their implements of war against the strong. As they cannot attain to the high level of the strength of the conqueror, they arrange to make him morally weak in this way. They describe to the conqueror the virtues of restraint, harmlessness and killing of internal desires. In this way the dominant race loses its staunch resolution to put in hard efforts, and the desire of action vanishes from its heart. It loses its character, resolution and high position ;

with it respect, prestige and sovereignty are also lost. One hundred mental diseases are produced by loss of strength, like diminution of the sphere of action, loss of spirits, low character. In this way the superior nation gets intoxicated, lives in dreamland, and loses its virtues. It names its deterioration, as *culture* and *civilization*.

Iqbal then proceeds to say that Plato in his philosophy has propounded this doctrine of self-negation. His philosophy has affected the literature and mysticism of early Islam to a great extent. But we should save ourselves from his ideas as they are against the laws of progress. Plato says that the secret of life lies in death. His philosophy takes us away from life and we begin to feel drowsy. His arguments are highly developed, but the purport of it is that the world of causes is a fable.

فکر افلاطون زیاں را سود گفت حکمت او بود را نابود گفت

The ponderations of Plato have declared loss as gain.

His philosophic knowledge has declared the existant as non-existant.

He refuses to accept the importance of practical life and of the zeal for action. His doctrine strongly prevails on the mind of the Sufi. Many a nation has been poisoned by his intoxication. They went to sleep and were deprived of the 'Delight of Action.'

Now Iqbal describes the virtues and defects of poets and poetry. He discusses the improvements which can be effected in Muslim Literature. Man is warm in thoughts and action because of desire.

ازمناے بھام آدمیات گرم خیز و تیز گام آدمیات

*Desire is the wine in the cup of Life,
Due to it, Life has been quickened in action,
and has become brisk in its march.*

Life is the object of our conquest and desire is the spell by which we can conquer it. Anything which is good and suitable and beautiful, we wish to have for ourselves. A thing of beauty is a joy for ever. (Tennyson).

A poet can make us look a good thing, better. His words enter into the mind of people and he is the creator of thoughts which people believe, are their own. There is Water of Life (آب حیات) in the words of the Poet. Our task is still unfinished and Islam is still marching on the road of progress, towards its goal. Poet wakes up a nation and invites them towards action. He urges them to consider their present condition and to produce a desire for progress in their heart.

That nation is very unlucky whose poets take it away from practical life. A poet of such a nation depicts vice as virtue. By the charm of his words the weak become still weaker. The beauty described by him has no concern with

truth, while beauty is intimately connected with truth. His breath extinguishes the fire of our heart. Save yourself from the ideas of such a poet, and do not follow him!

O Muslim! the literature produced by such poets has degenerated and degraded thee. You have eaten deadly poison administered by him through your ears. Love has been dishonoured by your lamentations. Your coldness has taken away the burning (سوز) from the fire of that poet.

دائے بر عشق کہ نارِ افسرد در حرم زائید و در بیت خانہ مُرد

Woe on that Love whose fire has been extinguished (and has become cold).

The Love which was born inside the Haram (Ka'ba) and died in an idol temple.

Now the best way for the Musalman would be to test the literature which he possesses with the standard of success or failure in life. Clear thinking serves as the leader of action. Literature should contain fit and chaste thoughts, and a constant reference to the Prophet. Now warm yourself with the heat taken from the desert of Arabia. You have become weak and languid by taking life easy. Now make a habit of wearing the rough hand woven cloth (کرباسی) instead of soft silk. Become hard, try hard, exert yourself and have a very high aim before you. Then in the battle of life, you will come out successful.

Khudi can be developed by passing through

three stages: (1) Obedience, (2) Control of Desires, and (3) Office of the Deputy of God.

(1) We should do our duties faithfully. Be obedient because freedom is a product of compulsion. By obeying orders the unworthy become worthy. It is by obedience to laws and regulations that we can conquer the moon and the milky path. By the law of unity the drops form an ocean and the particles of sand form the desert. Do not complain of the strictness of law, and do not go out of the bounds prescribed by the Prophet Mohammad.

(2) Control of Self by controlling desires is an absolute necessity.

ہر کہ بخود نیست فرمانش رواں می شود فرماں پذیر از دیگران

Anybody, whose command is not obeyed by himself ;

He is commanded by others.

In the nature of man fear has been mixed with love. Fear is of many types: fear of this world, of the other world, of life, of afflictions, of earth and sky. Love covers many fields: property, money, mother country, relatives and wife. As long as the staff of *La-illaha* (there is no God but One) is in your hands, you can break down all spells of fear. When a person follows justice according to the dictates of God, his head is never bent before falsehood. He is not afraid of anybody except God. He breaks off all relations

except those with God. *La-Illaha* is the shell, inside which the pearl of Namaz (prayer) is contained. It kills evils and unbelief. Haj polishes the nature of a Muslim. It teaches migration (هجرة) and annihilates the love of mother country. Obedience is the capital in trade of a nation. It binds them together. Zakat (زكاة — tithe) kills the love of money. It also teaches equality. It teaches to spend what we love, so that we may reap good in return. All these are the means of your strength. You are strong, if your Islam is firm.

(3) The third stage in the process of the development of Khudi is the Vicegerency of God. It is good to be the 'Deputy of God' in this world and to rule the physical forces. The Deputy of God is like soul in the body of the world and he knows all the secrets of the parts or of the whole. Self-expression is in his nature, and he thinks out many ways of doing so. For example

پخته سازد فطرت هر جنام را از حرم بیرون کند اصنام را

He matures the nature of every immature object.

He turns out the idols from the Ka'ba.

He teaches old age the activities of young men. He makes researches in Arts, Literature and Sciences. By "Action" he gives new life to the world. He gives a new explanation of the activities of this life. He is the secret of life, and brings

into existence things which the world does not know. But the Muslim community is waiting for such a man : the Superman ; the Perfect Man.

خفته در خاکِ تیر امروز ما شعلهٔ فردائے عالم سوز ما

In the ashes of our today lies asleep ;

The flame of our tomorrow, which has the capacity to burn the whole world.

We are waiting for this person, who in some future time will suppress the tumult between various nations. Iqbal in his poetic way, requests this new leader of Islam : Come, and give a practical shape to the law of Fraternity, and Love. Bring peace to the world. You are the goal of the caravan of life. We have become weak and degraded. We will again become dominant and will conquer the world through your personality.

Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet was a man of many qualities. He gave fresh vigour to Faith, and brought honours to the community of the Faithful. He developed self-discipline and killed concupiscence (هوس). A person who knows himself, and controls himself, rules the world.

از گلِ خود آدے تعمیر کن آدمے را عالمے تعمیر کن

You create a (new) Man from the clay of which you are built (make yourself a man).

For this Man construct a new World.

If you do not make use of your own mental

powers then somebody else will make bricks from the clay of your body for his use. Do not complain of the unjust attitude of World or Time.

در عمل پوشیده مضمون حیات لذت تخلیق و تازن حیات

The whole subject of Life is hidden in Action.

The law of Life is the delight which one gets by creating.

Rise and be the creator of a new world! It is to admit defeat, if you submit to an unfavourable world. The world conforms to the ideas of the person who is self-respecting and proceeds on the right path. If it does not, the man fights with the world. He pulls out the foundation of the universe and rearranges the particles giving them a new form. He creates a new world with his powers, which is according to his requirements. If one cannot live like a 'Man' in this world, then it is 'Life' to give up life in the strife, fighting like a Man. The man who possesses a heart, tests his powers by tackling huge problems. The possibilities of the powers of the men of action become apparent by "Desire of the Difficult" (مشکل پسندی). Malice is the implement of the people without courage. Life is energy which is constantly being generated. Its origin is the pleasure which a man takes in predominance and conquest.

When forgiveness is expressed out of place, it

shows the coldness of the blood of life.

It is a metrical break in the verse of Life: Life which by nature is metrical.

Whoever has remained in the low state of subordination has considered Weakness as contentment and peace of mind. Weakness is the highway robber of life. Its domain is full of fears and lies. Weakness is destitute of nobility and respectability. It breeds vices. It changes form every moment. If you are wise, then take care that you are not deceived by this enemy who is ever sitting in ambush for you. People do not properly recognize its different forms. They try to hide it by throwing various kinds of veils on its face. Sometimes weakness is hidden behind the veil of mercy and politeness. Sometimes it puts on the garb of humbleness. Sometimes it hides itself in forced helplessness and sometimes in incapability. Sometimes because of weakness, a man takes his life easy and thus Weakness manages to take away the heart out of the man who could and should possess power.

On the other hand Truth is a twin of Strength.

زندگی گشت است حاصل قوت است شرح رمز حق و باطل قوت است

Life is a crop and its fruit is Power. Power is the explanation (explanator) of the mystery of Truth and Falsehood.

If the plaintiff, has got power at his command, then his suit requires no arguments. Falsehood

attains the dignity of truth by power. It takes and represents itself as truth because truth has been falsified. Then falsehood because of its power can change poison into Water of Life and gives the name of Vice to Virtue ; and it is accepted by the world as Vice.

O Muslim ! you are unaware of the rules and good conduct of امانت (The word Amanat means deposit or charge given in trust, and also faith and religion). Consider yourself better than both the worlds. Learn the secrets of life. Do not take into consideration anything but God. Suppress all other forces. Here is a programme of life for you. See, hear, speak and then act according to the advice given above and you will be successful in life.

Then Iqbal proceeds to say that you should not be afraid of your enemies. When a person begins to think, he is weak, he actually becomes weak ; and the enemy is encouraged to harm him. Why to get angry with friends, and why to complain of foes.

راست می گوئم عدویم یارِ تنست هستی اورونق بازارِ تنست
 هر که دانا می مقاماتِ خودی است فضل حق داند اگر دشمنِ قوی است

I will tell you the truth. Your enemy is also a friend of yours.

His material entity serves as the (cause of) exuberance in the flourishing of your life.

Anybody who is conversant with the elevated points in the domain of Khudi ;

Considers it to be a blessing from God, if the enemy is powerful.

The enemy wakes up and excites all the hidden forces in you. A long and tiresome journey is a test of the strong resolution of a person.

مثیل حیواں خوردن آسودن چہ سود گر بخود محکم نہ بودن چہ سود
خویش را چون از خودی محکم کنی تو اگر خواہی جہاں برہم کنی

Is there any useful purpose, in eating and enjoying moments of rest, like an animal ?

If you are not strong enough to stand on your legs then what is the use of your very existence.

When you have strengthened your personality by Khudi.

If you like (then) you can upset the whole world.

It is by knowing 'Self' that one gets eternal life. Death is to forget Khudi. Now Iqbal proceeds to illustrate the point under discussion by a number of stories.

The first story related by the poet in favour of Khudi, is of a bird. A certain bird felt very thirsty. He saw a small piece of diamond in a garden. He believed it to be water. The diamond

said to him : "I am not water. My *ab* (the word آب *ab* means water as well as self-respect) breaks the beak of birds." The bird was afflicted with overwhelming grief and the song in his throat became a lamentation. In the meanwhile he saw a drop of dew.

قطرۂ شبنم سر شاخ گُلے تافت مثل اشک چشم بلبے

A drop of dew on the top of the bough of a rose-tree ;

Was spreading brilliance like the tear of a nightingale's eye.

The bird went below the branch of the flower and the dew-drop by itself fell into the throat of the bird.

Now, you wish to save yourself from the ravages of the enemy. I would like to know from you, if you are a diamond or a dew-drop !

جوں ز سوز تشنگی طائر گرداخت از حیاتِ دیگرے سراپدِ ساخت

As the bird was melting by the burning of thirst: (had a great desire for water),

It used the life of another, as the useful stock of its own life.

And this is the fundamental principle of the battlefield of life: "Survival of the strongest and the fittest." This is achieved by the preservation of Khudi.

غافل از حفظ خودی یک دم مشو ریزه الماس تو شبنم مشو

Do not be neglectful for a single moment, in the appropriate preservation of Khudi.

Become a piece of diamond, and do not become a dew-drop.

Then he relates the story of diamond and coal. In a mine the coal said to the diamond: "My respect is less than dust, and you are set in the crown of the king of kings. We both come out of the same mine and the nature of our body is the same. (In fact both coal and diamond are made of the element carbon.) You are so lustrous and permanent. My life on the other hand is nothing more than some smoke and some ashes." The diamond replied: "Well my friend: dark earth, by firmness becomes a stone for a ring." (Diamond is the hardest substance known.) It fights with itself and then becomes hard like a stone. Your soft nature has dishonoured you.

فاریغ از خوف و غم و وسواس باش پخته مثل سنگ شو الماس باش
می شود از وئے دو عالم مستنیر هر که باشد سخت کوش و سخت گیر
در صلابت آبروئے زندگی است ناتوانی ناکسی ناچستگی است

Be free from fear, and grief, and doubt.

Be hard and mature like a stone, and become a diamond.

The two worlds are illuminated by receiving radiance from him,

Who has cultivated the nature of striving hard, and can put in stubborn efforts.

Honour of life is in Hardness.

Weakness is worthlessness and immaturity.

Then Iqbal relates a third story, in which he states that the continuation of the life of a nation depends on adhering steadfastly to the particular traditions of that nation. A Brahman who lived in Benares, was a very learned man. He got tired of idol-worshipping and the idea of worshipping one God entered his mind. Still he could not solve the problem of life and death. One day he went to a Muslim spiritual leader (شيخ). The Sheikh told him "you have flown too high and have gone away from your real aim. You are in the skies, in search of the diamonds of stars, you should rather come down to the earth, and fit yourself into your own surroundings. You are a Brahman (who does not believe in one God), your thoughts should conform to the belief of your own community. You are the trustee of an old civilisation. You should not destroy the culture and religion of your forefathers. If life of a nation depends upon union, then *kufr* (كفر—unbelief or atheism) is also a source of union." The Sheikh addressed the Brahman and said: "You are not perfect in your unbelief, how can you solve the intricate problems which arise in your mind."

We (both of us) have gone far astray from the right path of devotion and submission,

You have gone far away from Azar (the idol-worshipper) and I from Abraham (the worshipper of one God.)

None of us is perfect in his madness of love. When the flame of Khudi has got extinguished inside the body, no good can come out of those thoughts even, which encompass the skies.

Now under the same heading he gives another story. The river Ganga one day spoke to the Himalayas. "God has made you grand and high but you cannot move and life means movement, as a wave exists because of its movement." The mountain said: "Your movement is the cause of destruction for you. A person who forgets himself deserves destruction. You commit suicide by offering your person to the ocean."

زندگی ہر جہائے خود بالیدن است از خیابانِ خودی گُل چیدن است

What is Life? to flourish at your suitable place.

And to pluck flowers from the garden of Khudi.

"Centuries have passed and I am still at my place. I have consistently put in hard efforts and thus collected rubies and diamonds and precious stones inside me. If you are a drop, put on a hard

strife with the ocean. Or become a cloud which strikes lightning and rivers flow out of it. Then the ocean will beg for the Storm from you and will consider itself to be less than a wave (compared with you)."

From this point Iqbal turns to a different point, a mention to which he had made previously. The object of the life of a Muslim is to raise high the banner of Kalima of Allah (لا اله الا الله). If (جهاد) 'Jihad' (War in the name of God) is an incentive to the conquest of lands, it is unlawful (حرام) in the religion of Islam.

طبیع مسلم از محبت قاهر است مسلم از عاشق نباشد کافراست
تابع حق دیدنش نادیدنش خوردهنش - نوشیدنش خوابیدنش

The nature of a Muslim is victorious by virtue of Love.

If a Muslim is not a Lover, then he is an infidel.

For a Muslim, the permission to observe or not to observe is under the command of God.

As well as his eating, drinking and sleeping.

A Muslim always follows the code of 'Il-Allah'. You should live like a dervish in the garb of a king. Always keep your eyes open and have the fear of God in your heart. The aim of all your actions should be 'Nearness to God.'

صلح شرگردوچ مقصود است غیر گر خدا باشد غرض جنگ است غیر

When the purpose in view be other than God,

غير) then peace takes up the form of wickedness.

On the other hand when the aim is God himself, then war even is goodness.

If God is not elevated by us, then war becomes unworthy of our nation.

To illustrate this point, he gives the story of Hazrat Mianmir 'wali' whose mausoleum is at a distance of about five miles from Lahore. Aurangzeb spent a very long period of his old age in conquering the Deccan. He succeeded in it for the moment. He came to Hazrat Mianmir to request for his benedictions of prayer.

مسلم از دنیا سوئے حق رم کند . از دعا تدبیر را محکم کند

The Musalman runs towards God, from this (lower) world,

That is, he strengthens his schemes by means of prayer.

The Sheikh remained silent. One of his disciples presented a silver piece to him as offering (نذر). The Sheikh said our king is the poorest among men. He deserves it most. His fire of hunger has burnt the world. In the name of building, he is in fact devastating the world. Mankind is a caravan and he is a highway robber.

از خیال خود فریب دستگیر خام می کند تا راج را تسخیر نام

Depending on his self-deceiving conceptions,
his perceptions

He gives the name of conquest to pillage.

By the sword of his hunger, the armies of his own State and armies of his enemy, both are lying dead. The hunger of a beggar is the fire which burns inside his body. The hunger of a king is the death of country and nation. If a person draws a sword, in the name of anybody except God (غیر اللہ) his sword gets settled in his own breast.

Now the poet relates an advice which Baba-i-Sahrai has given to the Muslims of India. Take care of your Khudi and you will get eternal life. Expansion and domination are a result of the same. You are afraid of death. Well, you have misunderstood the doctrine. As I know it, I will explain it to you. Do not follow others, construct your internal Self. Fly high, and free yourself from the attraction of this earth. If you wish to acquire knowledge, I wish to give you the message of the Pir of Rum.

علم را بر تن زنی مارے بود علم را بر دل زنی یارے بود

Knowledge is a snake for you (your enemy) if you use it, to increase your material body.

If knowledge is used for the improvement of soul, then it is your friend.

Maulavi Rumi used to teach pupils in his school at Halb. His head was full of wisdom and knowledge but he was unaware of Love. One day when he was busy in teaching, and heaps of books lay around him Shams-ud-Din Tabraizi according to the commands of Hazrat Kamal-ud-Din Junaidi, went into the 'maktab' of Rumi (Mulla Jalal.)

He said: "What is this noise of arguments and induction and deduction?" The Maulavi said: "You better get out from here, this philosophy has no concern with you. It is beyond your understanding. The heat of Shams (the word Shams means the sun) increased by the words of the Mulla and a fire was liberated by the body of Tabraizi. He looked at the ground. A flame came out. The books took fire and were burnt. The Maulavi was ignorant of the miracles of love. He said: "How have you produced this fire? It has burnt my books." Tabraizi said: "You are a Muslim with a Brahminal thread. This (نوق و حال) 'Zauq' and 'Hal' has no concern with you. It is beyond your understanding. Muslims! you have constructed your provisions of life from the snow of knowledge, you should produce a flame of love inside you.

علم مسلم کامل از سوزِ دل است معنی اسلام ترکِ آفل است

The knowledge of a Muslim becomes perfect by the burning of his heart.

The meaning of Islam is the renunciation of Afls.

(Afil—those bodies in whose nature it is inherent to deteriorate; heavenly bodies which rise and set).

Prophet Abraham refused to worship the sun, moon and stars. According to the Quran, he said, "I love not them that set." (Ch. 6).

You have thrown the Divine knowledge into

the background, and you have sold your religion for a bread. Modern knowledge cannot supply the necessary fire of love. I have searched it in vain in Europe. It is a curtain. I have only attained to the heights, by casting aside the chains of European learning.

سوز عشق از دانش حاضر مجوئے کیعت حق از جام این کافر مجوئے
مذتے محبتک و دود بڑدہ ام باز دین دانش نر بڑدہ ام
باغبانان استقام کرده اند محرم این گلستانم کرده اند

Do not seek for the burning of Love from Modern knowledge.

Do not seek for the intoxication of Divine Truth from the cup of this infidel.

For a long time I have put in very hard efforts.

And have thus become the knower of the secrets of the New knowledge.

Its gardeners have tested me by examination

They have made me conversant with the secrets of this garden.

The Mussalman has forsaken the Muslim traditions due to the policy of others. He should again produce a pan-Islamic union throughout the world. Time is not continuous like a line and it cannot be measured with days and nights. Time is everlasting. It is pleasure as well as pain.

اصل وقت از گردش غرض نیست وقت جاوید است و خیر جاویدیت

The origin of time is not the revolution of the sun

Time is eternal, but the sun is not eternal.

Our time which originates from the garden of our soul knows no beginning and no end. The slave is bound down by days and nights. The free raises himself above the clay and governs the time.

عبد گردد یا وہ در لیل و نہار در دل حر یا وہ گردد روزگار

The slave is lost in the rotation of days and nights

But the time (also means the world) gets lost in the heart of the free.

The soul of the slave is curbed down by the atmosphere around him and he cannot conceive anything new. The genius of the independent creates something fresh every moment. The slave explains away his defects by calling them fate. The free makes fate his councillor and moulds the world.

There were days when we were the ruling force of the world. We were the cause of propagating religion, truth, science and knowledge. Modern world owes a debt of gratitude to us in many spheres of life.

Then Iqbal prays to God saying that He should give to the Musalman a restless heart, a searching spirit and a love which will inspire him to make new conquests materially and spiritually.

چشم بیزاب دل بیتاب دو باز ما فطرت سیاب دو

O God! give to the Musalmans a sleepless eye and a restless heart.

Give us back the nature of quicksilver.

O God! give us the strength of belief, and unite the Muslims all over the world into one body. But Iqbal says, I am alone absorbed in my thoughts and nobody else understands me. O God! either take back the fire that you have given me or give me a companion who can understand me.

CHAPTER IV

Rumuz-i-Bekhudī

Now we come to Rumuz-i-Bekhudī the companion volume of *Asrar-i-Khudī*. To start with Iqbal addresses the Muslim community of the whole world. He says: O Muslim! you have forsaken the Law brought by the Prophet. You should kindle the fire of Love in your heart and revive the agreement which you have made with Muhammad.

An individual should remain united with his nation.

The individual derives his honour from his nation.

A nation is organised, when the individuals are united together.

A person should follow the traditions of his forefathers. His desire of development is because of the nation and the worth of his work is judged by the group. Our aims can only be perfected by help of the forces at the command of the group. You have not distinguished Khudī (Self) from Bekhudī (Selflessness) and have thrown yourself

in doubts. There is a Light in you which gives you the sense of individuality.

خویش دار و خویش ساز ناز مای پرورد و اندر نیاز

It is self-preserving, self-striving and self-adjusting

It rears many methods of blandishment inside the pale of humbleness and devotion.

By nature it is bound as well as free. It is constantly at war and I have named it Khudi or Life. When it joins a community Khudi breaks itself and from a flower it changes into a flower garden.

A nation is formed by the union of individuals and prophethood is a necessity for the perfection of training of a nation. The activities of the various systems of life are imperfect as they are. A prophet gives them new life.

تا خدا صاحب دے پیدا کند کوز حرفے دفترے اعلان کند

(This life is imperfect) till God produces a person with an all-knowing heart (the Prophet).

Who in the shape of one word, writes out a whole book (register).

He bestows a treasure on the pauper intellect. He makes the slaves freemen. Then he imposes upon them the law which he has brought. He teaches the individual proper ways of love and the important doctrine of the unity of God.

Then Iqbal proceeds to say that there are two

fundamental factors of the nation of Islam : Tawhid توحید and Prophethood رسالت. Tawhid he takes first : it means being one ; God is one and also that Muslim community should become one, they should have one aim in view. " Wisdom " he says was without a goal and Tawhid supplied it with an aim. Tawhid has the capacity of doing great deeds. Some of these he describes in the following words :

دین از حکمت از و آتیش از د زور از وقت از و تمکین از د
 پست اندر سایه اش گرد بلند خاک چون اسیر گردا رجمند
 قدرت او برگزیند بنده را ذریع دیگر آفریند بنده را
 بیم و شک میرد عمل گیرد حیات چشم می بیند ضمیر کائنات

From Tawhid are derived Din (religion), science and Laws.

As well as Domination, Power and Honour.

Under its shade the humble become the exalted.

Dust becomes as noble (the word راجمند means : possessing worth or dignity ; beloved, noble, dear, excellent, wise, learned, unequalled), as an elixir.

Its capacities of action, elevate the slave,

It transforms the humankind into a new species of beings.

Fear and doubt die away, and Action takes birth,

The eye can see through the conscience (mind) of the universe.

"There is one God" is the basic foundation of Islam. Castes, creeds and colours disappear in this one word. The whole nation should possess one mode of thought; and the fire bestowed by God on man gives to the nation this one mode. It is a mistake to construct a nation with homeland and race as its factors. Our nation has got a different foundation: we are bound to the unseen and due to Tawhid have all become one

ملتِ ما را اساس دیگر است این اساس اندر دل ما مضمون است

Our nation has got a different basis.

This basis is hidden inside our heart (being spiritual and not material).

Despair, sorrow and fear are the springs of vices; and these destroy vigour of life also. Tawhid rectifies the evil effects of these malignant diseases. Hopelessness kills our thoughts and actions. The man dies in spirit, while he is alive in body. It is the poison of life. Sorrow saps all the energies of a man. The Musalman believes in the "Will of God" and on the path of life he is always seen smiling. The force of belief expands human life, the fear of anyone except God is the enemy of action. It stops the mind from thinking, and the hand from practical work.

هر شرنیپاں که اندر قلب تست اصل او بیم است اگر بینی درست
 لایه دنگاری و کین و دروغ این همه از خون می گیرد فروغ

If you consider rightly,

Fear is the original cause of all the malignancies, which are hidden inside your heart.

Flattery, deceitfulness, malice and falsehood,

All these flourish on Fear.

It shakes our decisive resolutions and throws t hem into the doubts of possibilities.

A person without courage becomes happy, in the company of the unsuccessful. Whoever has understood the meaning of the lesson taught by Mustafa (the Prophet) has found *Shirk* (شرک) (apostasy) hidden in fear. The fear of God is true belief, and the fear of all others is apostasy hidden in the under layers of heart.

Now he takes prophethood. God created the material body of man. By prophethood he poured life into this body.

از رسالت صد هزار ایک است جزو ما از جمیع لایفک است

از رسالت دجهان تکوین ما از رسالت دین ما آئین ما

By virtue of prophethood, a hundred thousand of us are united together to form one body.

One part of us cannot be separated from any other part of us.

On prophethood depends our (organised) existence in this world.

From prophethood is derived our Din (religion) and our Laws.

A nation derives its life from a prophet. A large number of common aims become a large "One" by union. When this unity becomes perfect it becomes a nation. Islam is a natural religion and we have learnt this from the Prophet. If this unity is not lost from our hands, we will live up to eternity. So God concluded his "religious law" by creating Islam and He concluded the Prophethood on the Prophet of Islam.

حق تعالیٰ نقشبِ ہر دعوے شکست ابد اسلام را شیرازہ بست

God Almighty falsified the picture of every other religious claim,

But He arranged for the welfare of Islam up to eternity.

The object of the Prophethood of Muhammad is the formation and continuation of freedom, equality and fraternity among mankind. Mankind had degraded in nature due to slavery. The Prophet Muhammad raised the humble and opened for them chances of expansion and progress.

شعله ہا از مردہ خاک تَرَکشاو کہ کہن را پایہ پر ویز داد
زاوَن اود مرگ و نبیائے کہن مرگِ آتش خانہ دودیر و دشمن

He opened the passage for many flames to come out of dead earth,

*He gave to Farhad the position of Parwaiz.
His birth is the death of the old world.*

The death of fire temples, idol temples, and idolators.

He also removed all differences of status and race, and taught equality to mankind. In the eyes of law as contained in the Quran the king and the slave are equal. They have to obey those laws in the same spirit

پیش قرآن بندہ و مولایکے است بریاد مسندِ دیباکے است

In the eyes of the Quran the master and the servant are alike,

One who sits on a mat and he who adorns a brocaded throne are governed by the same laws.

Now Iqbal proceeds to compare "Aql and Ishq" (Wisdom and Love). Momin is from love, and love is from him. Love makes the impossibilities of an ordinary person possible.

عقل در پیچاکِ اسباب و علل عشق چو گاہ باز میدانِ عمل
عقل را سر پایہ از بیم و شک است عشق را غزم و فیر لا ینفک است

Wisdom remains entangled in the contortions of reasons and causes.

Love runs like a polo player in the field of action.

The wealth of wisdom lies in fear and doubt.

Love is always united with determination and certainty.

He illustrates his doctrine of Wisdom and Love by the battle of Karbala between Imam

Husain and King Yazid. Freedom died a natural death when the throne of Khilafat (of the Ummayyad dynasty) severed its connections with the Quran. Imam Husain fought in the field of Karbala for the sake of truth, justice and freedom. He removed repression, injustice and force from this world, up to the day of judgment. He is therefore the foundation of "La-Ilaha"—there is no God but one.

Sword is only meant for saving the respect of religion and its object is to preserve religious laws.

دیز سراسر از حسین آموختیم ز آتش او شعله ها اندوختیم
 شوکت شام و فریاد و رفت سوط غرناط هم از یاد رفت
 تازیانه از زخم اشک لرزان هنوز تازه از تکبیر او ایماں هنوز

We have learnt the secret of the Quran from Husain.

We have gathered flames from the fire of Husain

The magnificence of Palestine and the glory of Baghdad have vanished

The might of غرناطه has also been forgotten.

But due to his plucking, the wire of our heart is still vibrating.

Our belief is still fresh by his takbir.

When the Muslim community has got Tawhid and Risalat as its fundamentals, it follows that it has got no physical limits ; because physical universe does not enter in its formation. Muslims all over

the world are one community. The boundaries of countries do not separate or divide them.

مسلم استی دل باقلیمه میند گم مشواندر جهان چون و چند

You are a Musalman. Do not tie down your heart with a country

Do not get lost in this world of qualities and quantities.

To solve the problem of the nationality of a Muslim the Prophet migrated from Mecca to Medina. He built the nation on the foundation of Kalima (لا اله الا الله) and did not enclose it within a physical receptacle : the homeland. Decide to conquer the whole world and migrate anywhere in the world. The face of the whole earth is our mosque.

اذا قدرد مقام آزاد شه

Inhabit the world, like fish which is free in the ocean.

That is, you should be free from the imprisonment imposed by 'Place.'

Whoever achieves freedom from the chains of life,

He occupies by inhabitation, all the six directions, like the sky.

Homeland is not the foundation of a nation. In this way humanity has been divided into sections and man has been estranged from man. The soul

of man has been estranged from man. The soul of man has disappeared, humane qualities are gone and nationalities have taken their place. In Europe politics has usurped the place of religion. Christianity lost its power and the Pope became a dead force. Atheism tore off the cloak of religion. Then came a *Mursal* (messenger or apostle) from Satan. Machiavelli who was born in Florence in Italy gave a new philosophy of politics to the world. He wrote his book *The Prince*, to guide the course of affairs of kings but in this way sowed the seed of strife among mankind. Truth and justice were demolished by him, and he gave to the world a new mode of thinking. His new religion made kingdom as the object of worship. Falsehood has developed by the logic of his philosophy. Artifice, trick and stratagem have become an art. He has brought night into the eyes of the world and according to him Fraud is expedience.

The Muslim community is not even bound by time because God has promised that it will continue to live for ever. Every year, many a flower fade and die never to bloom again but the beauty and fervor of spring remains the same, because other flowers take their place. In the same way individuals die but the community continues to flourish. An individual rises from a handful of dust but a nation rises from the heart of a 'Great Mind' (صاحبِ دلیے). He means by this a prophet. A man dies after sixty or seventy but a hundred years are like the twinkling of the eye for a nation

A man is alive when his body and soul are together, but a nation is alive when it continues to preserve its old honour. A man dies when he breathes his last but a nation dies when it abandons the aim of its life. Although nations die like individuals but the Muslim nation is above the fear of death because God has promised to preserve it.

It is not possible to organize a nation without law, and the Quran is the law of the Muslim community. The words of the Quran have neither been modified nor given a wrong meaning.

رهزناں از حفظ اور رہبر شدند از کتابے صاحب دفتر شدند

The highway robbers by committing the Quran to memory became the guides of Caravan.

Being in possession of one book (the Quran), they in fact had the knowledge of a whole library (or office) at their command.

O Muslim of the modern times your belief is a slave of the customs. The manners of an unbeliever are your prison. If you desire to live the life of a true Musalman, you cannot do so except through the Quran. Look at the Sufi. He is intoxicated with the wine of the sweet notes of a singer. He discusses the poetry of 'Iraqi' (عراقی) but not the Quran. Look at the religious preacher. His words are very high sounding but his meaning is very low. He talks of Khatib (خطیب) and Dailmi (دیلمی) and of disputed weak points of religion. He does not directly derive from the Quran.

از تلاوت بر توحی دار و کتاب قرا و کامی کرمی خواهی بیاب

But the Quran (Quran is also called Kitab) has a right on you, that you should recite it over and over again.

By help of the Quran, you can attain any object that you may have got in view.

In the age of degeneration, it is better to follow than to create your own new reasons and paths of life. Modern age is full of evils which are trying to uproot the organization of the old nations. They have made us a stranger from ourselves. Under these conditions it is better to follow the modes and 'methods of our ancestors so that we may remain united. Preserve what you have, however small it may be, instead of throwing it away, in the hope of getting more.

نقش ببدل معنی تو خیسد کن چاره کار خود از تقسید کن

Make a picture of the meaning of Tawhid on your heart,

Find the solution of your problems by following the prescribed laws.

If everyone begins to think and act in his own new way, then division and weakness is natural. The wisdom of your ancestors was nearer to the Quran. Know the secrets of religion. Unite yourself by following the Quran.

از یک آذینی مسلمان زنده است پیکر ملت ز قرآن زنده است

The Musalman is alive because Muslims all over the world have got one Divine Law.

The body of Millat is alive by virtue of the Quran.

National consciousness achieves to perfection by obeying the 'Laws of God.' Strong conviction in this law is a necessity.

ملت از آئین حق گیر و نظام از نظام محکمے خیزد دوام
ہست دین مصطفیٰ دین حیات شرع او تفسیر آئین حیات

Millat becomes organized by Divine Laws.

Eternity is the result of a firm organization.

The religion of Mustafa (the Prophet of Islam) is the practical religion of life.

The commentary on this religion is an Explanation of the laws of life.

By following the word of God bestowed upon us through the Prophet Muhammad, we become strong and successful in this world. In order to form the highest national character it is necessary to follow the highly praised manners, habits and character of the Prophet Muhammad.

طہینت پاک مسلمان گوہر است آب و تابش از نیم پیغمبر است

The chaste nature of a Musalman is a gem, Whose brilliance and splendour are derived from the Ocean of the Prophet.

For the existence of a nation, it is necessary to

have a physical centre, and Ka'ba is the centre of the Muslim nation. Centre gives correlation and organization to a nation. Ka'ba is of so great an importance to the Muslim community that it deserves being made the centre. The Jews are not a living force and they are not united because they have got no physical centre.

The real union and strength of a nation lies in adhering steadfastly to the *national aim*. The national aim of the Muslim nation is preservation and propagation of Tawhid. If we have got an aim in view then only we can lead an active, progressive and full life.

مَدْعَا رِزْقَتِ تَائِیَ زَندَکِی جَمْعِ سِیَّابِ قَوَائِیَ زَندَکِی

The object is to find the secret by which life may become eternal.

And the object is to gather those restless powers of life which help in its progress.

You have got the Quran in your hands; you should be foremost in the field of action. The imagination of man is idol maker, as well as idol worshipper. Every age is in search of an idol. Once more the world has instituted a new form of idol worshipping. They have made absolutely a fresh god. This god consists of throne, country and race, who rejoices when blood is shed. In the feet of this unworthy idol, mankind is being slain like sheep. O Muslim! you are inspired by the great deeds of Abraham and Muslim dignitaries, strike the sword

of "there is nobody except Him" on the head of this falsehood which is in the garb of truth. Show your presence in the darkness of this age and preach to everybody the perfect religion which has been bestowed upon you. Otherwise God will call your explanation on the day of judgment.

ہر حق از حضرت ما بردہ و پس چرا باد گیاں سپردہ ،

You got the Divine Law, from Our (God's) Court according to Our commands :

Then why have you not entrusted it to others.

The expansion of national life can be achieved by the conquest of the natural forces of the world. All that is "Except Him" (ما سوا) has been made for you to conquer.

"ہر کہ محسوسات را تسخیر کرد - عالمی از ذرّہ تعمیر کرد -"

*Anybody who conquers the physical world,
Constructs a new world from a particle.*

The mountain and the desert, the wasteland and the river, the land and the sea, all are subjects of study of persons with insight. The Muslim should make progress in modern arts and sciences. He should use the new inventions for achieving this aim, i.e., expansion in all spheres of life. Fight with a strong nation, because this will develop your own strength. Man is the Deputy of God on this Earth; hence his command of natural forces is justified. Open the unknown secrets.

جستجو را محکم از تدبیر کن انفس و آفاق را تسخیر کن

Lend strength to your search by practical contrivance.

Conquer those which breathe (animals) and all the quarters of the earth covered by the sky.

A weak nation if it has mastered physical sciences overpowers a strong nation. You should not only look to the outside appearance, you should learn the hidden causes and reasons of natural phenomenon. A person who has conquered the physical universe and has brought under his control the various kinds of energy like heat and electricity can work wonders. You have been left behind while other nations have gone ahead in research and sciences. Knowledge constitutes the esteem of man and science is the fort of man.

The perfection of national life results when a nation like an individual produces the sense of Khudi. The production and perfection of this sense is possible by preservation of national tradition. A child to start with does not know himself. He gradually learns about the existence of the objects around him and then about the reasons and causes of things. Then he looks on himself and begins to say "I". This newly born "I" is the beginning of life in him. It is the song of the awakening of the organ of life.

A newly born nation is like a child which does not know itself and does not understand the

world around it. After many experiences, it produces Khudi and gradually this sense becomes permanent. Many events pass and it creates a national history. A nation develops its attributes to the full by knowing its history and traditions. By knowing its history, it comes to know itself. It ceases to exist as a nation if it forgets its traditions and history.

ضبط کن تاریخ را پائیده شو از نفس های رمیده زنده شو

Preserve your history, so that you may remain alive (and thus become eternal),

Come to life again by dint of those breaths, which have been breathed away.

Connect your past with the present and from this will arise your future. Life is the continuation of national intellect and if you desire to have a life which will not fade in strength, then do not sever the past from the present and future.

The existence of a race is due to motherhood. The preservation and respect of motherhood is real Islam. Love of God takes birth in the lap of a woman. The woman forms the character of a nation.

از اموست پختہ تر تعمیر ما در خط سیمائے او تقدیر ما

Our edifice (and construction) become more firm through motherhood,

Our fate is written in the writing (in the letter) on the countenance of motherhood.

'Paradise is under the feet of mothers.' An ugly village-girl if she adds one Muslim to the community, who protects his national honour and worships God, is much better than a charming statue of beauty who does not like to bear the pains of motherhood.

ایں گل از بہتان مانا رستہ بہ داغش از دامان ملت شستہ بہ

It is better that this flower (this charming woman) does not grow in our garden,

It is better that this dirty spot is washed away from the skirt of the Millat.

In the garden of mothers come into existence the poppy beds of future generations of a nation. The riches of a nation do not lie in money and gold and silver. The real wealth of a nation are healthy and robust sons who can put in hard work and are intellectually and morally perfect. Mothers are the preservers of the secret of fraternity. Mothers are the force of the Quran and the nation.

For the women of the world Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet, is a perfect example. She is dear to us because of three relations. She is the daughter of the Prophet. She is the wife of Ali, the "Lion of God". She is the mother of Imam Husain, the "Leader of the Caravan of Love". The fire of life is due to Imam Husain and he taught us a lesson of freedom. The character of children is after the character of their mothers and consequently Husain acquired all those qualities from his mother.

سیتِ نازنا از آفتاب جمہرِ صدق و صفا از آفتاب

The nature of sons is derived from their mothers,

The quality of Truth and Purity is acquired from mothers,

Then Iqbal addresses the Muslim women of the world as a whole. Your good nature is the strength of our religion and the foundation of our nation. You give the child his first lessons of 'La Ilah'. Our thoughts, speech and actions depend on you. In your breath is the fire of the religion of God. Modern age is full of everchanging deceits and of clever tricks. It tries to destroy religion. Its intellect is blind and does not recognize God. Unbecoming persons are leaders in this age. The eye of this age is fearless but does not care about the rights of others. It has got huge powers at its command. Its prey is in fact a prisoner but he believes himself to be free. The person slain by it considers himself to be still alive. O Woman! you are the gardener of the plants of the nation. You are the preserver of the capital of the nation. Do not think of the apparent gain or loss. You should follow the footsteps of your forefathers. The Prophet's daughter is an example for you. Take care of the ravages of time and take your children in your lap. Produce a worthy coming generation.

ایں مچن نادان کہ پر نکشاده اند ز آشیان خویش دود افتاده اند
 فطرت تو جذبہ مادار دہلند چشم ہوش از اسودہ زہرا بند
 تا حشمتے شاخ تو بار آورد
 موسم پیشین بگلزار آورد

These garden-born souls, who have not opened their wings up to this time (the young generation of the nation),

Have gone far astray from their nest (they have abandoned their cultural traits).

In your nature are hidden many sentiments of an elevated character,

You should not close your eyes to the praiseworthy character of Zuhra (Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet),

So that the branch of your tree may bear a Husain (son of Fatima), as the fruit (may produce a son of his calibre),

Who may bring the former season (of spring) to the rose-garden.

CHAPTER V

Analysis of the Philosophy

We have studied the contents of the two books, *Asrar-i-Khudi* and *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi*. We have known what they contain. But it will be better to sift out, and re-arrange the arguments advanced by Iqbal. Then we will be able to analyse his philosophy and to see how far it applies to actual life.

From the discourse we have found that Iqbal derives all his illustrations and proofs from the traditions and literature of Islam. The factors of his philosophy have been supplied by Muslim faith. In his arguments and the line of reasoning adopted, he does not follow any of the previous philosophers. He has chalked out a new line of thought for himself. The individual reasons advanced by him were, no doubt, propounded for or against certain causes or effects of individual or national development, by other philosophers before Iqbal. There are some thoughts taken from the religious books of Islam, which apparently were in existence before Iqbal. Others have been taken from modern philosophy and sociology. But the line of argument adopted by

him and the application of these arguments as developed by him is peculiar to Iqbal. Therefore we may name this 'Philosophy of Life' as propounded by him *Iqbalian Philosophy of Life* which is original in its own way.

Iqbal resembles the great German philosopher Nietzsche in one important respect. The main-spring of life is the desire for victory. Mercy shown out of season shows the coldness of our own blood. Mercy shown out of place hinders our own progress. Superman leads the world. Iqbal differs from Nietzsche in another important respect and that is God. In Nietzschean philosophy God does not enter at all. His philosophy is a chain of causes and effects; arguments and reasons in favour of or against progress and development. He very well succeeds in convincing his readers regarding the validity of the arguments forwarded by him. He has brought forth the new idea of Superman, who is the leader and guide of the world. Iqbal's ideas as regards the qualities of this leader, this Superman, run parallel to that of Nietzsche. The 'Will to Power' as propounded by the two philosophers has got the same spirit of superiority and action. But Nietzsche disregards the hand of the Almighty in moulding the destinies of this physical world in which we live. Iqbal therefore differs from him and proclaims his note of dissent in strong terms. In his book *Jawid Namah* (The Book of Jawid; named after his younger

son Jawid and means the book of the eternal) Iqbal goes on a journey through the various heavens of the solar system and beyond. He meets various personalities good and bad. The personalities chosen by him are chiefly those who belong to or touch Muslim people. Now in this journey he meets Nietzsche also. (P. 175, first edition, year not given.) I have quoted only seven verses out of the thirty-seven under this heading (Nietzsche).

دیدہ او از مقابان تیز تر طلعت او شاهد سوز جگر
دمدم سوز درون او فزود برلبش بیتے کہ صد بارش سرود
”نہ جبریلے نہ فردوسے نہ حورے نے خداوندے
کف خاکے کہ می سوزد زجان آرزو مندے“

His eye is sharper than an eagle.

His appearance is a witness to the fire (in his liver) in his breast.

The burning inside him increased every moment.

On his lips was the verse which he had already recited (a hundred times) many times. (Which is as follows).

There is no Gabriel, no paradise, no huri, and no God.

The handful of dust which keeps ablaze, is due to the (intensity of) desires which the self of a person has got inside it,

مستی او ہرز جا جے ٹٹکت ۔ از خدا برید و ہم از خود گشت
 آنچہ او جوید مفت ہم کبریاست ۔ این مقام از عقل و حکمت دور است
 زندگی شرح اشارت خودی است ۔ لا و الا از مقامات خودی است
 او بر لا در ماند و تا الا نہ رفت ۔ از مقام عبدہ بیکانہ رفت

In a state of intoxication he broke every glass.

He severed himself from God, and broke away himself, from himself.

What he searches, is the exalted station of God.

This high situation of God is beyond the reach of wisdom and learning.

Life is an explanation of the inner signals of Khudi

La and Illa are among the stages of Khudi (La and Illah are from the Kalimah لا اله الا الله).

He was drowned in the La (=no) and could not reach Illa (=except; means except God).

He remained ignorant of the high position of being one of the Servants of God. (Or the high position of the Prophet who is عبده ورسوله—His Servant and Messenger).

Nietzsche has also been dealt with by Iqbal in his *Piam-i-Mashriq* twice (pp. 238, 241, second edition, year not given). In these he describes him as

۱۷ دیوانہ بکار گزشتہ گرید
 ۲۱ قلب او مومن دماغش کافرست

A madman has entered the workshop of a glass blower.

His heart is Momin (believer in God), but his head is an infidel.

In Nietzschean philosophy God is given no place. His system of arguments is based on causes and effects dealing with this material world. Iqbal on the other hand bases his arguments on the Quran and the religious and poetic traditions of Islam. But the Muslim literature referred to by him in his works belongs to the most vigorous days of Islam. Iqbal is a thorough master of modern philosophy but he does not follow it. He is a fierce assailant and an undaunted critic of it. He disagrees with its principles where they disagree with the religious doctrines of Islam.

In substance and form he is a follower of Maulana Jalal-ud-Din Rumi, the greatest Sufi poet in the whole range of Persian poetry. Iqbal admits this in the 'Introduction' to his *Asrar*. He says in "My Dream."

روئے خود بنمود پیر حق سرشت کو بحر پہلوی قرآن و نشت
 گفت لے دیوانہ آراب عشق جُرعه گیر از شراب ناب عشق

The Pir whose nature is truth, showed me his face,

He who wrote the Quran in the Pahlawi language.

He said, "O you who are mad after those who are inspired with love.

"Take one draught from the pure wine of love."

Rumi invited me to write this philosophy. Rumi, he says, writes the Quran in Persian; he follows the Muslim doctrines. Iqbal also says :

باز برخاظم ز فیض پیرِ روم دفترِ سرِ بسته اسرارِ علوم
پیرِ رومی خاک را کسیر کرد از غبارِ م جلوه یافتِ تعمیر کرد

I will repeat here from the munificence of the Pir of Rum.

Which is a hidden library, of the secrets of many learnings.

The Pir of Rum has transmuted my dust into elixir.

He has constructed many new sights from my dust.

He admits that he has derived from Rumi and has based his poetry on Rumi. It is clear thus in his own words that Iqbal follows the Muslim traditions.

But let us go back to Iqbal and see what actually he has to say regarding the philosophy of life. We will discuss it with him. The two books from his pen, which deal with the subject

are *Asrar* and *Rumuz*. They present the leading ideas of Iqbal in a connected form, while in other books he has given touches or variations of the same or similar themes. The books in their texture are loose and as we pass through them we do not see a clear picture of the whole theme. The details are interesting and full of poetry, one feels absorbed in them and the 'Whole' is lost in the 'Parts.' Now we will proceed to construct the whole from these parts. We have already given the contents of *Asrar-i-Khudi* and *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi* in the last two chapters, from one end to the other, i.e. page by page as they are given in the two books.

This time we will pick up the salient points from the text, remove all the poetry and see them in clear day light. The best course would be to pass through the two books again and see what the main features of the Philosophy of Life, as preached by Iqbal, are.

ASRAR-I-KHUDI

Iqbal makes 'Khudi' خودی (Self or Ego) as the basis of human life, individual or collective. He says that the individual is distinct from other living or dead beings because of his Ego. This Ego pervades all the spheres and activities of the universe. Due to Khudi the individuals unite to form groups and parts organize themselves in a system. The orderliness of the universe is due

to customs,

research—all are the effects of Khudi. Individual or group wishes to progress, to conquer, to expand, and therefore brings into existence these forces. Khudi must have some *aim*, some object in view otherwise it cannot flourish and these are its aims.

Love is the instrument for the development and persistent excitement of Khudi. You should learn to love. Your object of love is the Prophet Muhammad. He gave to the world a new system of laws.

The Prophet removed all differences of caste, creed and colour. The whole world is the *home of the Muslim*. For our love towards the Prophet we should obey him.

Requests and beggary deteriorate Khudi. Earn your own livelihood and do not beg from others. Artisan is the friend of God.

Self-negation kills the virtues of a man. Self-negation or self-denial means negation to appreciate the virtues of Khudi and negation of the development of Khudi. Resolution, character, high position and prestige all are lost to the person or nation, and this is called "moral" or "cultural" development. Plato was mistaken in propagating these views. His philosophy has done a lot of harm to the Muslim community. The Sufi, who follows this doctrine and tries to loose his Self in the greater whole is also mistaken.

Literature of a nation should be such that it leads a nation towards progress, success and

victory. A poet who gives a dose of opium through his verses is doing a great harm to the cause of the community. The task of Islam is still unfinished. Muslim nations should sift out their literature and reject that part of it which is harmful. They should improve their character and formulate a successful programme for the future.

There are three stages through which Khudi develops : (1) Obedience, (2) Control of desires, (3) Viceregency of God.

Obedience to certain set of laws shows us the sphere of our freedom. It is due to the obedience to the law of unity that groups can become strong and progress. The Muslim should obey the laws as prescribed by the Prophet Muhammad.

Control of desires which can also be called control of Self, gives to the man necessary character. All fears are removed from the mind by the sword of 'La Ilah,' and man is only afraid of God. The love of all things—property, money, etc.,—is dominated by the love of God. Namaz kills evils and unbelief; Haj teaches migration, and Zakat kills the love of money.

Viceregency of God is an attribute of man. He has been appointed as such and is therefore authorised to control and rule the forces of nature. A "Superman" gives new life to the world. Islam is waiting for another Superman who would give practical shape to Fraternity

and Love, and will lead Islam towards success and conquest. Ali was such a Superman.

Struggle is the law of nature. A man puts up a constant fight with the forces against him and conquers. He takes it a greater honour to die fighting like a Man, if he cannot conquer; but he will not submit. To show mercy out of place proves our own weakness of being cold in blood.

Weakness degrades a man; it deprives him of high character. Weak people sometimes satisfy themselves or deceive others by calling themselves polite, humble or incapable of doing harm.

Strength is the fruit of our existence. By dint of power, falsehood even becomes truth, and vice is accepted as virtue.

Programme of Muslims all over the world is to follow the word of God. Do not be afraid of anybody except God, become strong, progress, expand and conquer. The enemy is a hidden friend of yours because you improve by putting up a fight with him. Know your Self, develop your Ego, preserve your Khudi.

Now to prove an argument that Muslims should stick to their own culture, traditions and religious laws, Iqbal narrates a curious story. A Brahman conceived the idea of worshipping One God and a Muslim religious leader advised him to follow the foot-path of his own forefathers. Thus he deduces that in order to keep our Khudi

alive we should follow our own Muslim traditions and religion.

Life-aim of a Muslim is to preserve and propagate the name and glory of One God. We should fight and conquer for this purpose alone.

Knowledge, if alone, is a source of trouble and useless strife. It must be mixed with *love*. Modern knowledge cannot supply the necessary fire of love. I have searched for it in vain in Europe.

Pan-Islamic Union all over the world is a necessity for the development and success of Islam. The Muslims should follow their own traditions. They should become free and bring into existence independent States. A slave names his defects as fate. The free only can become a constructive genius. He makes his own fate by modelling the world. There were days when the Musalman was the ruling force of the world in all the spheres of life : knowledge and science. Modern world owes a debt of gratitude to him. O God, give to the Muslim a spirit of progress and conquest. Give them faith and unite them into one Pan-Islamic body. But, Iqbal says, I am alone absorbed in my thoughts, O God, spread my ideas and let all the Muslims understand me.

RUMUZ-I-BEKHUDI

Now we will pass through *Rumuz*, the second book of Iqbal on the subject.

Revival of Islamic thought is a necessity so that the Muslim world may progress. Follow the law of the Prophet and the Muslim traditions.

Bekhudi should be distinguished from *Khudi*. The inner light which gives individuality to a man and is constantly at war (inside and with the external world) is called *Khudi*. When an individual considers himself to be the member of a group, his *Khudi* breaks up and becomes *Bekhudi*,—submission to a larger whole—the nation.

Tawhid and Prophethood are the fundamental principles of Islam :

Tawhid means there is only One God. From this he concludes the unity of the Muslim community. Doubts vanish by belief in one God and man makes a firm determination to act. The Muslim nation is built on the principle of *Tawhid* and is therefore free from the bonds of country or race. The Musalman believes in the 'Will of God' and therefore vices like despair and sorrow do not enter his mind. The fear of God only is true belief.

Prophethood (*Risalat*) is the soul in the body of a nation. The Prophet is the cause of union of the Muslims all over the world. Our Prophet Muhammad was the last Prophet. He taught freedom, equality and fraternity to mankind and thus made the whole world one nation.

Wisdom and Love both are active forces

in this world. Wisdom lives in a world of doubts created by causes and reasons. Love has got a steadfast resolution and the solace of its life is Freedom. It makes impossibilities possible

Muslim community has got no *physical limits*, because this nation is based on Tawhid and Risalat. The face of the whole earth is their mosque. All over the world they are one nation, and they are free to move about anywhere.

Homeland is not the basic factor of nationality. By following this principle human qualities in man have disappeared and nationalities have taken their place. In Europe politics has occupied the place of religion and atheism has overthrown religious system. Then Machiavelli, an apostle of Satan, made kingdom as the object of worship and thus sowed the seed of Strife. Now artifice and trick are their principles of politics.

Muslim community is eternal because God has promised to preserve it.

A community cannot be organized without law, and the Quran is the law of the Muslim nation. The Sufi and the religious preacher both have forsaken the Quran. All Muslims should live according to the law given in the Quran.

In an age of degeneration like this, *Taqlid* (to follow) is better than *Ijtihad* (to strike new and original paths). Follow Muslim traditions and history.

Character of Muhammad (the Prophet), his manners and habits are an example for the Muslims.

Physical Centre of the Muslim community is the Ka'ba. *National aim* of the Muslim community is the propagation of Tawhid.

A *New God* has been created by the world: throne, country and race. This is against the Muslim ideals. Musalmans should destroy this god otherwise they will have to explain before God on the day of resurrection.

Muslims should *conquer natural forces* by science and knowledge. Man is the Deputy of God and therefore he is justified in his conquest of nature. Make yourself strong by new inventions and then conquer and expand.

A nation goes towards perfection by producing the *sense of Khudi*. This can be done by preservation of national traditions and history. Connect your past with the present and future.

Respect of *motherhood* is real Islam. Mother forms the character of the child and teaches the love of God. Muslim mothers should bring into existence healthy, strong, God-fearing Musalmans. The real wealth of a nation are its sons. Mothers are the real makers of a nation and religion. Fatima the daughter of the Prophet is a perfect example for the women of the world. Guide the children of Muslim community towards Islam and save them from the unbelief of modern age.

This finishes the philosophy of life as prescribed by Iqbal. This philosophy of life or programme for the development of an individual and a nation is so saturated with Muslim ideals and literature that people of other religions would not like to follow it. Even if they wanted to, they would not be able to do so because of the technical difficulties. This means that they will have to become Muslims before they can adopt Quran and Muslim traditions as law and ideals of life. So this theme is exclusively meant for the Muslims—Muslims in general : who live in the whole world and not of any particular country. We must admit that Iqbal covers a vast ground.

Iqbal was a great student of Islam. He covered the whole field: Quran, Tradition, cultural history, philosophy and modern developments. His "Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam" in English, show his vast study and mastery of the subject. In these he has made an attempt to corroborate Muslim religious philosophy and the traditions of Islam with more recent developments in the various branches of knowledge. According to him Islam reconciles the forces of 'change' and 'permanence.' An individual or a society should change because 'Self' is always striving, expanding and is in the act of motion. If it is arranged to stop change, that immobility, lithargy and deterioration results which has over-powered the Muslim nation for the last five hundred years.

On the other hand like Europe, if a group has got no common principles to regulate the collective life of a group, it knows no bounds. It has no goal. It goes on changing and changing and from Cosmos you go back to Chaos. The cosmos brought into existence by the persistent early efforts is automatically lost by the mutual conflict of the internal forces.

From his early age Iqbal had been brought up in a Muslim atmosphere and his prodigious memory would not easily forget what had been taught to him as a child. His foundation was Islamic and he expounded it in his poetic philosophy. It was a theoretical descriptive narrative, without giving considerable thought to its practical possibilities. He was a poet, a philosopher and a thinker. He constructed his own world, away from the noise of life. He expressed it many a time himself in my presence ; and once said, "I have accepted the membership of the Legislative Assembly to be in the practical world, to get a practical experience of practical life."

Let us see if the special features of the philosophy, propagated by him, regarding the Muslim community are being applied anywhere in the living world, or there is a chance for them to become active. Here are some of them : love, and love of the Prophet, removal of difference of caste, creed and colour. Muslims' home is the whole world, humbleness is not culture, literature should only have those values which encourage

it and refuse degrading literary values, Quran to become the ruling law of the Muslim World, the aim of life of a Muslim is to propagate the glory of One God and not social, economic or scientific development, religion to become the ruling force, a Pan-Islamic union should be formed, revive Islamic thought, preserve Tawhid, homeland is not the basic factor of nationality, European political philosophy is wrong, follow and do not try to formulate new ideas, smash the forces brought into existence by throne, country and race. Now if we analyse and consider the arguments we find that some of the forces are active, others are alive, others are dormant, some are ineffective, some have been removed by the anti-forces of the world, some have got chances of revival, others have got no chance of coming back to life again. But the poet delighted in formulating a philosophy.

Iqbal was an Indian and could not forget that he lived in India : and India of the days of Iqbal. If we consider the case of India we find that his philosophy will not apply here. Two communities with distinct traditions and religions if they steadfastly and strictly follow their own lines, they can never come closer together. They will never amalgamate. There will be no union and no Nation. Following these ideas he propagated or advertised the "Pakistan" scheme : two nations in one India.

I differed from him in some ideas, as

pagated by him, as others did like Shifa-ul-Mulk Hakim M. H. Qarashi. I had a number of chances of discussing with him these points of controversy and finding out what he meant. But he was a very sensitive man. He wrote with conviction. If you questioned him directly regarding some point in his works which you doubted, and indirectly hinted that it was wrong he felt annoyed; with strangers he even became strong. He believed, he wrote what he believed, and believed that what he had written was absolutely right.

At leisure hours when sitting in an easy mood, he expressed doubts. But then I should admit he was not that poet and philosopher who was invincible in argument and remained undefined in extensiveness of information; then he was a barrister, a practising pleader inside whom Iqbal was hidden, in a dormant state. This barrister could talk that way, still he was the nearest associate of the 'Poet Iqbal,' in the world and therefore he should know the poet very well. The expressions may lack in exactitude but they threw light on the inner mental attitude of the poet. He was perhaps at the moment, a learned man, full of knowledge and wisdom; and the world of wisdom is full of doubts in his own words :

I had travelled all over the Islamic belt of countries including Kashmir, Afghanistan, Persia and Iraq. He was a student of Islam and his message was addressed to the Muslim nations. So he felt interested in getting first-hand information regarding these countries and nations. He wanted to know the social, political and educational conditions there. Then we would discuss what lines should be adopted to improve them. How Muslim countries could rejuvenate themselves, how they could progress and become an effective force in the world.

In his later life at times when some of us were together, like Shifa-ul-Mulk Hakim M. H. Qarsahi, Sayed Nazir Niazi and others, we use to have open debates on the subject of Congress, Indian nationality, the future of India, the future of Muslim community in India, Muslim nation, new developments and so many other problems which cropped up during the talk. Shifa-ul-Mulk (then not Shifa-ul-Mulk) was a Congressite and Iqbal as is clear from his literature a staunch Muslimite. I, a logico-poetical scientist (practical test first) touchstone of arguments and the audience at the same time ; and Niazi a makeweight. He

would argue for the side which seemed to become weak. He could argue for both, by dint of his knowledge and 'filoosofy.'

Thus, in his company I got an insight into his inner psychology. This would throw a flood of light on some of the controversial points discussed by him in his works. We may thus be able to analyse and explain the strong Muslim ideas expressed by him in the vigorous days of his poetic career. I was in touch with him from 1916, when I was just a student of F.Sc. class in the Lahore Government College. Then also I used to write stray verses, but was absorbed in the study of science. However, I was interested in good poetry, fine arts and social development. I have watched, known, studied and analysed Iqbal from this time till his death. During this period the contact was strong or loose the interval between and the number of meetings was large or small but the contact was never severed. It would be very fascinating to analyse the 'Philosophy of Life' as propounded by Iqbal in that light. It will interest many of his admirers, the thinkers in the field and all my friends between whom and myself Iqbal stands as an unbreakable bond of union. But there is no space for it.

GENERAL FEATURES OF THE PHILOSOPHY

But philosophy of life interests all of us, individuals or nations all over the world. All of us individuals or groups wish to develop, progress and

dominate. It will therefore be of interest and use to Man in general to know what the pith of the laws of success and progress is, as these have been propagated by Iqbal. We leave aside religion or country and study progress in general.

Now we will pick up from the narrative, the laws of development and success for the individual and for the nation, which lie hidden in the text of these two books. We will now sift out the arguments brought forth by Iqbal, in favour of his doctrine of success in life.

His two books *Asrar-i-Khudi* and *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi*, respectively deal with the individual and the nation. He describes in his *Asrar* how a person can develop and progress and in *Rumuz* he takes up the programme for a group—a collection of individuals: a community. We will also take up these two sections of the laws from these two books separately; of course *Asrar*, with its right of precedence coming first.

We will now study in a connected, logical form the line of argument developed by the poet, disregarding his arrangement in the books. We will re-arrange the points. It will be better to take up the points systematically, as they logically proceed upwards and to state these categorically.

DEVELOPMENT AND SUCCESS OF AN INDIVIDUAL

1. Man in the undeveloped or unregenerated state is nothing better than dust.

2. He possesses inside him immense hidden potentialities.

3. Khudi (Self or Ego) brings these potentialities into action. Individuality of objects is due to Khudi.

4. Superman who has perfected his Khudi leads the world.

5. Khudi proceeds towards perfection by passing through three stages :

(a) Obedience makes the group, to which the individual belongs, strong.

(b) Control of desires makes us more useful to the community.

(c) Man should conquer physical forces by science and knowledge.

6. Love is the cause of the development of Khudi.

7. Intellect should be combined with love, to make full and appropriate use of intellect.

8. Self-negation (killing of Khudi) kills the inner and outer powers of man.

9. Inner light which feeds on Khudi, is the creative genius of man.

10. Desire is the spell by which we can conquer the worlds, known and unknown.

11. Action is the pith of life.

12. Strength is the truth of life.

13. Weakness breeds falsehood.

14. Fear is the source of many evils.

15. Firm resolution and hard life, lead us to success.

16. Modern knowledge is misleading. We should follow the old traditions.

17. The independent man only is the real man ; a slave is only a moving machine.

18. Fight with the world till you conquer it and bring it round to your requirements or die fighting like a brave man.

This is as regards the individual. Now we come to the second book *Rumuz*, which deals with the life of the group (community or nation).

DEVELOPMENT AND SUCCESS OF A COMMUNITY

1. Khudi is the inner light which creates the sense of individuality in a person.

2. But our task remains unfinished without becoming a part of the whole—the nation. This is the Bekhudi (Selflessness) of man.

3. Modern European political theory propounded by Machiavelli is misleading and causes sins and struggle.

4. Modern world has created a new god, which consists of throne, country, and race. It should be smashed. Then the world will know peace.

5. A nation is built on two factors :

(a) *Tawhid*—God is one. Following this law of 'Oneness' all individuals of a nation should become one.

(b) *Risalat* (prophethood) gives a new law and teaches equality to mankind.

6. The national mind of a group is perfected by producing the sense of Khudi in the nation as a community.

7. Homeland is not the fundamental factor of nationality. It produces divisions and war.

8. For the existence of a nation a physical centre is necessary. (Is it self-contradiction? I can feel self-contradiction at some other places but this is not the proper place to discuss them.)

9. A nation can only be organized when one law covers all the individuals.

10. In the age of degeneration, as ours is, it is better for the individual to follow, than to construct his own new lines of thought. The nation thus develops one mind.

11. For the progress and expansion of a nation, it is necessary to conquer physical forces by science and knowledge. Make new inventions and thus conquer the world.

12. A nation must have an aim in view, or it will deteriorate.

13. A nation continues to live only by preserving its traditions and history.

14. Motherhood is the real preserver of a nation. Mother teaches religion, traditions and obedience to law. Sons are the greatest wealth of a nation. Modern age is full of deceits and fallacies. Mothers should save their children from its poisonous effects. Mothers are responsible for producing a suitable coming generation.

15. Love by its firm resolution conquers the

world. Love finds peace of mind in freedom. So be independent.

16. Wisdom remains in doubts of cause and effect. Cover the defects of wisdom with love.

In modern times 'Social Science' has been developed to a sufficiently high pitch. It discusses the laws which regulate the career of success or failure of an individual or a group. Any of the modern authors, Mac Iver, Hobhouse, Barker, Joseph, etc. will give sufficient material for study. For the special problem of Indian nationality, Tagore, Dutt, Marvin, Risley, Gilchrist, Beven, Besant, Pannikar may be consulted. They disagree with Iqbal in many points. Iqbal has taken up the salient features as discussed by modern social science, and portrayed them in a garb of poetry with Islamic background. But he has selected from the whole discussion those points only which he liked. Some of these are definitely weak according to the authorities on social science. The individual and the society according to them are becoming more economic minded than social or religious. Religion, they say, is a dead force. It is never to return. There were days—a phase in the intellectual development of the human race—when religion and prophethood brought into existence groups and nations. They were capable of great achievements. But that stage is past. Now the world has developed far beyond it. The intellect of the human species in general has proceeded much higher. It cannot go back. It

only go forward. The idea of spirits and ghosts is lost to us. Whims and fancies have got no weight with the modern world. Science and the application of science in the modern world have changed the very standard by which we measure success. We have adopted a different line of thought. They say, in future economics, science and politics will rule the world. Religion, they say, has lost its usefulness to the human society. The social regulations and social mores imposed by religion have now been replaced by social and political codes. The superhuman element of religion is neglected by man. Of all forms of religious systems, monotheism only has survived the strong and persistently aggressive tests of the modern machine-age. The material atmosphere of our society does not admit these ideas to flourish. They also say that monotheism is also in great danger of being attacked, if not completely replaced by some material ideas of Darwin or Huskal. The world may adopt a new system of mental exercises and spiritual codes as Russia has already given a lead towards this goal.

Iqbal differs from these thinkers in many ways. We must admit that these are theories not facts based on scientific experiments. Everyone of us is justified in formulating a theory as long as it comes out to be true according to the tests of practical life. Otherwise it is automatically rejected in favour of those theories which can answer the facts as they stand. Time will prove the prognostications of Iqbal, one side or the other.

There is, however, a school of thinkers who dominate modern political circles; they are not prepared to accept the social philosophy of Iqbal as truly favourable to social development. They say, where is pan-Islamism? It has in fact, never adopted a really practical shape. Now that the office of the Caliphate has disappeared from the world, this pan-Islamic movement can find no ground to stand. They even dispute *Tawhid* and *Risalat* as the basic principles on which a nation can be based. One fixed code of laws, they say, cannot stand for all time in this swiftly changing world.

We have discussed in Chapter VII under "Factors which Develop a Free Nation" those factors, which European thinkers believe develop a nation. We will not make a comparative study of the two systems of thought (1) as propounded by Iqbal, (2) as admitted by European authorities. It is not the proper place for that. The main idea of this dissertation is to explain the 'philosophy of life' as described by Iqbal; and it will be bad manners, from the literary point of view, if we try to demolish piece by piece, the magnificent edifice built up by the genius of Iqbal. We leave it to the reader to compare the fundamental principles as given in the two philosophies and to draw his own conclusions. However this important question of 'Nationality' will be discussed by us in detail in a separate book.

But Iqbal has not given all his ideas regarding

the Muslim Nation, in these two books : *Asrar* and *Ramuz*. He has also discussed these points in other works from his pen. In the following chapter we will give references from other works of Iqbal to corroborate the theme of Iqbal under our discussion.

CHAPTER VI

The Spirit of the Philosophy

Iqbal bases his philosophy primarily on the principles of Muslim religion. He does not believe in philosophy but makes full use of it to support his arguments.

Iqbal believes that Khudi, the Ego is something real. It expands and develops. Decay in human activity is due to the deterioration of Khudi. The struggle to elevate Khudi is the noblest of human pursuits.

Thus the poetry of Iqbal is a message of hope and progress. This message is intended for the East, and especially for the Muslim East. Iqbal says in the 'Introduction' to the first edition of *Piām-i-Mashriq* :

”مشرق اور بالخصوص اسلامی مشرق نے صدیوں کی مسلسل نیند کے بعد آنکھ کھولی ہے۔ مگر اقوام مشرق کو یہ محسوس کر لینا چاہئے کہ زندگی اپنے موالی میں کسی قسم کا انقلاب پیدا نہیں کر سکتی۔ جب تک کہ پہلے اس کی اندرونی گہرائیوں میں انقلاب نہ ہو۔ اور کوئی نئی دنیا خارجی وجود اختیار نہیں کر سکتی۔ جب تک کہ اس کا وجود پہلے انسانوں کے ضمیر میں متشکل نہ ہو۔ فطرت کا یہ الل قانون جس کو قرآن نے (ان الله لا یغیر

ما بقوم حتى يغيروا بانفسهم -) کے سادہ اور بلیغ الفاظ میں بیان کیا ہے۔ زندگی کے فردی اور اجتماعی دونوں پہلوؤں پر حاوی ہے۔ اور میں نے اپنی فارسی تصانیف میں اسی صداقت کو مد نظر رکھنے کی کوشش کی ہے۔“

Iqbal does not believe in idealistic imaginations as the later Sufis (Hafiz, etc) did, but takes a practical view of life. He preaches action and conquest of natural forces.

Dr. Nicholson of Cambridge University requested Iqbal to draw up a statement expressing his philosophy as given in *Asrar-i-Khudi*. It will be very instructive to read the words of Iqbal, regarding Khudi and individual. Iqbal says: "All life is individual; there is no such thing as universal self. God himself is an individual. He is the most unique individual. The universe, as Dr. McTaggart says, is an association of individuals: but we must add that the orderliness and adjustment which we find in this association is not eternally achieved and complete in itself. It is the result of intuitive or conscious effort. We are gradually travelling from chaos to cosmos and are helpers in this achievement. Nor are the members of the association fixed; new members are coming into being to co-operate in this great task. Thus the Universe is not a complete act: it is still in the course of formation. There can be no complete truth about the Universe, for the Universe has not yet become "whole." The process of creation is still going on and man, too, takes his share in it, inasmuch as he helps to bring order into at least a portion of the chaos. The

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Holy Quran indicates the possibility of other creators than God."

"The moral and religious ideal of man is not self-negation but self-affirmation, and he attains to this ideal by becoming more and more individual, more and more unique . . . He who comes nearest to God is the most complete person. Not that he is finally absorbed in God. On the contrary, he absorbs God into himself . . . Life is a forward assimilative movement . . . The Ego attains freedom by the removal of all obstructions in its way. It is partly free, partly determined . . . Anything that fortifies personality is good. Anything that weakens it is bad. Art, religion and ethics must be judged from the stand-point of personality. . . Thus the Kingdom of God on earth means the democracy of more or less unique individuals, presided over by the most unique individual possible on this earth. Nietzsche had a glimpse of this ideal race, but his atheism and aristocratic prejudices marred his whole conception." (Abdulla Anwar Beg, *The Poet of the East*, 1939, pp. 198-199.)

Iqbal preaches that life is dynamic by nature ; and self-preservation, self-expression and self-expansion play a great part in the dynamic activities of life. Therefore, self is the force which keeps the system in action. Inactivity and static view of life, as preached by the later Muslim thinkers, is responsible for the deterioration in Muslim lands. The doctrine of self-negation has not allowed the

Eastern nations to proceed further on the road of progress.

Iqbal does not admit that his philosophy of life is in any way derived from the Western philosophers, although so many critics have brought forth reasons to prove that the conception of life, as preached by Iqbal, is only a modified form of, or a result of criticism on, the thoughts of the many thinkers of Europe : namely, Nietzsche, Bergson, Kant, McTaggart, Bradley, Hegel, Fichte. But Iqbal maintains that it is, through and through, Muslim view of life, as preached by Muslim thinkers in the early days of Islam. Europe acquired these Muslim ideas and broadcast them all over the world. The hearer, due to his simplicity, considered these to be European philosophy. The Muslim theories of life in the meanwhile changed to the static view, because of the teachings of Sufis. Thus it was affirmed that the dynamic view of life is the European view. Iqbal says that he is reviving the *fundamental* Muslim view of life and preaching those ideas which the Muslims had in their early days. Here is the affirmation of this statement in the words of Iqbal, which he wrote to Dr. Nicholson. "The philosophy of *Secrets (Asrar and Ramuz)* is based on the thought and observation of Muslim saints and philosophers. Even Bergson's conception of time is nothing new to the Sufis. The Quran is not a book of metaphysics. All what has been said in it, relating to life and after life, is definite. It has a direct relation with metaphysical

problems. When an educated Muslim of modern times describes these points which have their origin in the Quran, in the light of religious experience and thought, it should not be understood, that the new thought is being presented in the old garb. It should rather be said that "the old truths are being put forth in the light of modern thought." (*Poet of the East*, 1939, pp. 310-311).

The development of Ego (Inner self of a person—Khudi) is the most important function of life. But Ego has got an intimate connection with the physical body of the organism. The body stands in need of physical necessities of life, and thus is subordinate to the environment which provides these necessities. In the early parts of the life of an individual when a child, his subordination to the physical surrounding is the greatest. Gradually as he grows, he develops his self and becomes more and more independent of the environment. Thus he shakes off the limitations imposed on him by the body. In a perfect man the body is completely subordinate to Ego. Body dies but self is not material: in the higher stages of development it may function independent of the body.

But mind (self) and body are inseparable. Iqbal believes that according to Quran, the two belong to the same system. Iqbal accepts the spiritual pluralism. Iqbal says: "The body is accumulated action or habit of the soul; and as such undetachable from it. It is a permanent element of consciousness which, in view of this permanent element, appears

from the outside as something stable. What then is the *matter*? A colony of Egoes, of a low order, give birth to the Ego of a higher order, when their association and interaction reach a certain degree of co-ordination. It is the world reaching the point of self-guidance wherein the ultimate reality, perhaps, reveals its secret, and furnishes a clue to its ultimate nature." (*Reconstruction of Religious Thought*, 1944, pp. 105-106).

To keep body and soul together is the fundamental principle of Islam. Islam accepts that there is a world hidden inside a man, but for its sake the material world should not be renounced. True self-development is achieved by proper adjustment of relations with the physical environment, as directed by the light of the inner world. The soul should be made to flourish by the conquest of nature.

Christianity, on the other hand, preaches that salvation of soul lies in the renunciation of this world. The result of this alleged incompatibility, between matter and soul, produced a disruption in the collective life of a christian individual. He could not succeed socially, politically and economically if he wanted to elevate his soul. Hence, he rejected the Christian method of salvation and declared that religion was the private affair of a person and had no bearing on the social, economic or political attitudes of a person. The state was separated from the church. Iqbal mentions this in his works (بال جبریل - 1945 - صفحہ 160)

دین و سیاست
 کلیسا کی بنیاد رهبانیت تھی
 سماتی کہاں اس فقیری میں میری !
 خصومت تھی سلطانی و راہبی میں
 کہ وہ سر بلندی ہے یہ سر بزیری
 سیاست سے مذہب نے پیچھا چھڑایا
 چلی کچھ نہ پیر کلیسا کی پیری
 ہوئی دین و دولت میں جس دم جدائی
 ہوس کی امیری ہوس کی وزیری
 دوٹی ملک و دیں کے لئے نا مرادی
 دوٹی چشم تہذیب کی نا بصیری
 یہ اعجاز ہے ایک صحرانہ نشیں کا
 بشیری ہے آئینہ دار نذیری
 اسی میں حفاظت ہے انسانیت کی
 کہ ہوں ایک جنیدی و ارد شیری

The self is always in a state of tension, due to the hard struggle in which it is engaged. Then self remains alive. If it adopts an attitude of relaxation by becoming inactive, it dies. Change and revolution are in the nature of life. Our ideals, therefore, should not be fixed, but should change with time. Love is a cosmic assimilative force. It is the 'fountain of life.' Reason is the agent by the help of which we distinguish differences of time and space. But the evolution of human species consists in transcending the limitations of space and time. Man can do this by help of love. Iqbal discusses

the subject of 'love' in *Bang-i-Dara*, p. 28 ; under the heading عقل و دل (مقل نے ایک دن یہ دل سے کہا)

Again it is discussed on pp. 17-20, of *Jawid Namah* :

عقل او را سوئے جلوت می کشد
عشق او را سوئے خلوت می کشد

. . .

چشمش از لوق نگہ بیگانه نیست
لیکن او را جرات رندانہ نیست

. . .

کوه پیش عشق چون کاهے بود
دل سریع السیر چون ماهے بود

And in *Bal-i-Jibril*, p. 97 :

یہی زمانہ حاضری کائنات ہے کیا
دماغ روشن و دل تیرہ و نگہ بیباک

. . .

زمانہ عقل کو سماجھا ہوا ہے مشعل راہ
کسے خبر کہ جنوں بھی ہے صاحب ادراک

But according to Iqbal Reason has also got its value. Reason is indispensable for the conquest of nature. It creates in us a desire for the ultimate Truth, and thus paves the way for love. Hence Reason and Love both are necessary for the full development of self.

Iqbal condemns Western civilization because it

has completely starved the soul, at the cost of body, and has become unbalanced. But this does not mean, says Iqbal, that we should despise it and avoid it. Our attitude towards it should rather be critical and selective. We should take up those elements from out of it, which are suited to our national requirements and natural demands. The secret of the strength of Europe, lies in its scientific knowledge, patient and strenuous labour, and the useful traits of character. The political domination of Europe stuns the thinking capacity of the Eastern people. They begin to think that the domination of Europe is due to some of their lower traits of civilization ; like drinking, dancing, nudity or a particular form of dress. We, therefore, should not slavishly immitate the West : which means cultural slavery. We should keep alive our own cultural heritage, by continuous modification of our own culture and should not produce a break in our national continuity by replacing our culture with Western culture, but should assimilate the useful elements of Western knowledge and civilization.

Both evil and good are present in the world. The Ego conquers evil and improves in strength. Evil is the enemy of mankind. Without enemies, the strength deteriorates, as it finds no opponent against which it should struggle. The superiority of man, over animals is due to his powers of *choice* (اختیار), between good and bad. Laws of nature profess the uniformity of behaviour of physical objects. Man has got the choice to follow any of

the alternatives under a certain set of circumstances. The laws of nature then come into operation and determine the destiny of man, according to the alternative adopted by him. Man, therefore, is the master of his own destiny, and responsible for his acts.

پوچھ اس سے کہ مقبول ہے فطرت کی گواہی !
 تو صاحب منزل ہے کہ بھٹکا ہوا راہی !
 کافر ہے مسلمان تو نہ شاہی نہ فقیری
 مومن ہے تو کرتا ہے فقیری میں بھی شاہی !
 کافر ہے تو شمشیر پہ کرتا ہے بھروسہ
 مومن ہے تو بے تیغ بھی لڑتا ہے سپاہی
 کافر ہے تو ہے تابع تقدیر مسلمان
 مومن ہے تو وہ آپ ہے تقدیر الہی !
 میں نے تو کیا پردہ اسرار کو بھی چاک
 دیرینہ ہے تیرا مرض کور نگاہی !
 (بال جبریل - صفحہ 550)

ترے مقام کو انجم شناس کیا جانے
 کہ خاک زندہ ہے تو تابع ستارہ نہیں
 یہیں بہشت بھی ہے حور و جبرئیل بھی ہے
 تری نگہ میں ابھی شوخی نظارہ نہیں
 (بال جبریل - صفحہ 67)

It is clear from the *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* by Iqbal, (p. 108): " Thus the element of guidance and directive control in the Ego's activity clearly shows that the Ego is a free personal causality. He shares in the life and free-

dom of the Ultimate Ego who, by permitting the emergence of a finite Ego, capable of private initiative, has limited this freedom of his own free will. This freedom of conscious behaviour follows from the view of Ego-activity which the Quran takes up. There are verses which are unmistakably clear on this point : ”

‘ And say : The truth is from your Lord : Let him, then, who will believe : and let him, who will be an unbeliever.’ (18 : 28)

‘ If you do well to your own behoof will ye do well : and if you do evil against yourselves will ye do it.’ (17 : 7)

However this freedom of an individual is not a free gift of God : it can only be attained after a hard struggle. The power to exercise freedom develops, as we develop in the capacity to overcome obstacles. The self with its creative activity changes the conditions of the environment and removes the obstructions in its way. Ego is thus partly free and partly determined. The Ego becomes a creator and shares with the Ultimate Power the capacity and responsibility of shaping the world.

چنین فرموده سلطان به بدر است
 که ایمان در میان جبر و قدر است
 تو هر مخلوق را مجبور گوئی
 اسیر بند نزد و دور گوئی
 ولی جان از دم جان آفرین است
 بپندیدی جلوه ها خلوت نشین است

ز جبر او حدیثے درمیاں نیست
 کہ جان بے فطرت آزاد جاں نیست
 شبیخوں بر جہان کیف و کم زد
 ز مجبوری بہ اختاری قدم زد

(زبور عجم - صفحہ 228)

The Ego attains to the highest stage in life by (1) obedience to the law of Islam and (2) control of one's lower self. Then it becomes the Viceregent of God. This person is the completest Ego, the goal of humanity. He is the ruler of mankind.

According to Persian mysticism, man at the end of his evolution is finally absorbed into God. According to Iqbal, perfect individual absorbs the world of matter and by this act absorbs God *Himself* into the Ego.

پیش این نور ار بمانی استوار
 حی و قائم چون خدا خود را شمار
 چیست معراج آرزوئے شاہدے
 امتحانے روبروئے شاہدے
 در حضورش کسی نہاند استوار
 ور بماند هست او کامل عیار

(جاوید نامہ - صفحہ 14)

بہ بکشرش گم شدن انجام ما نیست
 اگر او را تو در گیری فنا نیست
 خودی اندر خودی گنجد محال است
 خودی را عین خود بودن کمال است

(زبور عجم - صفحہ 222)

We thus find that Iqbal attaches great importance to the development of the individual, which is achieved through the development of Ego (the self or Khudi). But complete development of an individual is not possible, without effective discipline which will make him a member of human society. The loss of the individuality of the individual leads to his absorption into a greater individual: the society. He loses his Self and becomes a greater Self: the National Self.

Iqbal "is a religious enthusiast, inspired by the vision of a New Mecca, a world-wide, theocratic, Utopian state in which all Moslems, no longer divided by the barriers of race and country, shall be one. He will have nothing to do with nationalism and imperialism. These he says, 'rob us of Paradise': They make us strangers to each other, destroy feelings of brotherhood, and sow the bitter seed of war. He dreams of a world ruled by religion; not by politics, and condemns Machiavelli, that 'worshipper of false gods,' who has blinded so many. It must be observed that when he speaks of religion he always means Islam. Non-Moslems are simply unbelievers, and (in theory at any rate) the *Jihad* is justifiable, provided it is waged, 'for God's sake alone.' A free and independent Moslem fraternity, having the Ka'ba as the centre and knit together by love of Allah and devotion to the Prophet—such is Iqbal's ideal. In the *Asrar-i-Khudi* and the *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi* he preaches it with a burning sincerity which we cannot but admire,

at the same time points out how it may be attained." (Nicholson, R. A., *The Secrets of the Self*, translation, 1920, pp. x-xi.)

According to some thinkers, there is a perpetual strife between the individual and society. The society modifies the development of the individual and at its own expense tries to absorb or check his energies. The purpose of society is wider than the purpose of the individual: and this purpose is the welfare of the members. Therefore the individual has to exercise a certain amount of self-denial for the good of society. It is a sacrifice for the sake of the group to which he belongs. This is for his own good in the long run. On the part of some persons, who are strongly national minded, the sacrifice is so great that they dispense with their life or property for the sake of the group. Through education and training the individualistic factors are subdued by the tendencies of collectivism. Hence the Self of an individual is personal as well as social. These two forces inside the man, have to be mutually adjusted, these two qualities are inseparable, as without duties there is no freedom of rights, without moral responsibility there is no power, and no freedom without legal responsibilities.

By social contact the individual confirms his criterion of good and bad. He can express his capacities. Life has become very complicated. In order to attain harmony in life, man needs a universal moral code. For formulating such a universal law of morality Divine will is the final authority.

If lasting peace is to be attained society should be based on the natural, moral law called the *Shariat*.

آدمی اندر جہاں خیر و شر
 کم شناسد نفع خود را از ضرر
 کسی نداند زشت و خوب کار چیست
 جادۂ ہموار و ناہموار چیست
 شرع بر خیزد ز اعماق حیات
 روشن از نورش ظلام کائنات
 گر جہاں داند حرامش را حرام
 تا قیامت پختہ ماند این نظام
 نیست این کار فقیہان اے پسر
 با نگاہ دیگرے او را نگر
 حکمش از عدل است و تسلیم و رضا است
 بینخ او اندر ضمیر مصطفیٰ است

(پس چہ باید کرد اے اقوام شرق - 1936 - صفحہ 38, 39)

A prophet is therefore absolutely necessary for a society, who brings *Shariat* directly from the heaven. A society or civilization built on physical forces, and neglecting the spiritual forces is a failure. European civilization based on these lines has brought with it distress, misery and dissatisfaction. Power and facilities of life have increased, but happiness has decreased.

یورپ میں بہت روشنی علم و ہنر ہے
 حق یہ ہے کہ بے چشمہ حیوان ہے یہ ظلمات
 یہ علم یہ حکمت - یہ تدبیر یہ حکومت
 پیتے ہیں لہو دیتے ہیں تعلیم مساوات
 بیکاری و عریانی و میخواری و افلامی
 کیا کم ہیں فرنگی مدنیّت کے فتوحات؟

وہ قوم کہ فیضان سماوی سے ہو مکرم
حد ام کے کمالات کی ہے برق و بخارات

(بال جبریل - 1945 - صفحہ 146)

A society can get true stability only through the law of God : the Quran. God is the ultimate basis of all spiritual life and therefore loyalty to God means man's loyalty to his own nature. The first principle of Islamic society is *Tawhid* (God is one), the second principle is to accept the guidance of the Prophet of Islam in the interpretation and illustration of moral law. A society based on *Tawhid* should have no political, social, economic or racial divisions, because it is based on the laws of one God. In practical life, *Tawhid* teaches, equality, solidarity and freedom. The Quran, through *Tawhid*, intends to formulate a society on these principles. A Prophet is commissioned to deliver the message of God, and to become a living example of what he preaches. So the Prophet is the exact significance of the divine law. Therefore the Prophet is a necessity, along with the Divine law.

The Quran says (5 : 3) : " This day have I perfected your religion for you and completed My favour unto you and chosen for you as religion al-Islam." It declares that the Prophet of Islam is the last Prophet. The Divine law in the form of the Quran and the *Sunna* of the Prophet is sufficient to the day of judgment. In the guidance of mankind, Iqbal has discussed the finality of Prophethood in the *Rumuz*. The reason he gives in its favour is

that it is a remedy against disintegration of Muslim Society. Again, Iqbal has discussed this question in his *Lectures*. The Prophet is superhuman having the forces of Heaven at his command. The expectation of a new Prophet carried with it the idea of a superman who will come to fight and destroy the forces of evil. This meant that humanity, without this superhuman being, was helpless in fighting the evil. By terminating Prophethood God has left man to his own resources. "In Islam Prophecy reaches its perfection in discovering the need of its own abolition. This involves the keen perception that life cannot for ever be kept in leading strings ; that in order to achieve full self-consciousness man must finally be thrown back on his own resources. The abolition of priesthood and hereditary kingship in Islam, the constant appeal to reason and experience in the Quran, and the emphasis that it lays on Nature and History as sources of human knowledge, are all different aspects of the same idea of finality." (*The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, 1944, p. 126.)

To establish such a society, as Islam designs, it uses *Jihad* as one of its implements. The word *Jihad* means to exert to the highest limit to promote a cause. The Quran says, "you are the best community that has been raised up for mankind, ye enjoin right conduct and forbid indecency and ye believe in Allah." (3 : 110) "And strive for Allah with the endeavour which is His right." (22 : 78) The object of *Jihad* is to gain power by

which Islam may be able to establish a society based on equality, justice and brotherhood, and not to gain wealth, or conquer lands, or religious conversion.

جہاد

تیغ و تفتنگ دست مسلمان میں ہے کہاں
 ہو بھی تو دل ہیں موت کی لذت سے بے خبر
 کافر کی موت سے بھی لرزتا ہو جس کا دل
 کہتا ہے کون اسے کہ مسلمان کی موت مر
 (ضرب کلیم - 1944 - صفحہ 22)

قوت اور دین

اسکندر و چنگیز کے ہاتھوں سے جہاں میں
 سو بار ہوئی حضرت انساں کی قبا چاک
 تاریخ امم کا یہ پیام ازلی ہے
 صاحب نظراں! نشہ قوت ہے خطر ناک
 اس سیل سبک سیر و زمینی گیر کے آگے
 عقل و نظر و علم و ہنر ہیں خس و خاشاک
 لا دیں ہو تو ہے زہر ہلاہل سے بھی بڑھکر
 ہو دیں کی حفاظت میں تو ہر زہر کا تریاک
 (ضرب کلیم - 1944 - صفحہ 22)

مومناں را گفت آں سلطان دین مسجد من این ہمہ روئے زمین
 ساخت کوشد بندہ پاکیزہ کیش تا بگیرد مسجد مولائے خویش
 اے کہ از ترک جہاں گوئی 'مگو ترک این دیر کہن تسخیر او
 (پس چہ باید کرد - 1936 - صفحہ 25)

جنگ شاہان جہاں غارت گری است
 جنگ مومن، سنت پیغمبری است

جنگ مومن چیست؟ ہجرت سوئے دوست
 ترک عالم، اختیار کوئے دوست
 آنکہ حرف شوق با اقوام گفت
 جنگ را رہبانی اسلام گفت
 کسی نداند جز شہید این نکتہ را
 کو بخون خود خرید این نکتہ را
 (جاوید نامہ - صفحہ 218)

A group must have a national home to become a nation. The Muslim *Millat* is not a nation in the modern sense of the word. It is an international federation, and its home is the whole world. It is not confined to any geographical area. However the centre of the multifarious activities of the *Millat* is the Ka'ba. Haj brings to Mecca people from all parts of the world, every year. The decisions made by the majority of the Muslim congregation at Mecca will be carried to all the corners of the world.

A nation should preserve its temporal continuity of social life. This is possible by keeping the past history of the nation alive. "No people can afford to reject their past entirely; for it is their past that has made their personal identity." (*Lectures*, 1944, pp. 166-167.)

In Europe the Divine right of kings has disappeared. Europe has adopted democratic form of government which means government by a Will which is common to all the members of the
 . The General Will. Iqbal says, in practice,

this means the government by the strongest party in the country. This party is headed by a single person—the Dictator. The theory of General Will in practice becomes the principle of Dictatorship.

ہے وہی ساز کہن مغرب کا جمہوری نظام
جس کے پردوں میں نہیں غیر از نوائے قیصری
دیو استبداد جمہوری قبا میں پائے کوب
تو سمجھتا ہے یہ آزادی کی ہے نیلام پری
مجلس آئین و اصلاح و رعایات و حقوق
طب مغرب میں مزے میٹھے۔ اثر خواب آوری
گرمی گفتار اعضائے مجالس الامان
یہ بھی اک سرمایہ داروں کی ہے جنگ زرگری
اس سراب رنگ و بو کو گلستان سمجھا ہے تو
آہ اے نادان قفس کو آشیاں سمجھا ہے تو
(بانگ درا - خضر راہ - صفحہ 296)

زمام کار اگر مزدور کے ہاتھوں میں ہو پھر کیا
طریق کوہکن میں بھی وہی حیلے ہیں پرویزی
جلال پادشاہی ہو کہ جمہوری تماشہ ہو
جدا ہو دیں سیاست سے تورہ جاتی ہے چنگیزی
(بال جبریل - صفحہ 62)

مکہ اور جنیوا

اس دور میں اقوام کی صحبت بھی ہوئی عام
پوشیدہ نگاہوں سے رہی وحدت آدم!
تفریق ملل حکمت افرنگ کا مقصود
اسلام کا مقصود فقط ملت آدم

مکے نے دیا خاک جنیوا کو یہ پیغام
 جمعیت اقوام کہ جمعیت آدم؟
 (ضرب کلیم - صفحہ 54)

ہم نے خود شاہی کو پہنایا ہے جمہوری لباس
 جب ذرا آدم ہوا ہے خود شناس و خود نگر
 کاروبار شہر یاری کی حقیقت اور ہے
 یہ وجود میر و سلطان پر نہیں ہے منکسر
 مجلس ملت ہو یا پرویز کا دربار ہو
 ہے وہ سلطان غیر کی کھیتی پہ ہو جس کی نظر
 تو نے کیا دیکھا نہیں مغرب کا جمہوری نظام
 چہرہ روشن، اندروں چنگیز سے تاریک تر
 (ارمغان حجاز - 1944 - صفحہ 217)

Compare: *Zarb-i-Kalim*, p. 154; *Bal-i-Jibril*, p. 196; and *Pas Chih Bayad Kard*, pp. 37-38.

According to Iqbal the three systems of government prevalent in Europe in modern times, democracy, dictatorship and socialism, have adopted the extreme form of their theory for which they stand as practical systems. Islam has adopted the *via media* and is a common factor to all these systems. A proof of this statement is that Islamic states have witnessed all these three forms of government, and they were all accepted as Islamic. Again, when each one of these forms of government became prevalent in Europe, the European savants of politics produced reasons from Islamic literature and precedents from Islamic history to prove that this form of government is contained in

the sphere of the Islamic theories of state. The totalitarian nature of state in Islam is due to the fact that Divine Law is all-embracing.

Democracy of Europe has become dictatorship and dictatorship has got all those evils which come into existence, when the sole authority is vested in one person. This is against the principles of Islam. The Communistic theory professes to provide for every member of the nation. But it is based on the equality of stomachs and lays too much stress on economics. Karl Marx justly criticised capitalism when he said that it represented extreme form of the theory.

اشتراک و ملوکیت
صاحب سرمایہ از نسل خلیل
یعنی آن پیغمبر ہے جبرئیل
زانکہ حق در باطل او مضمر است
قلب او مومن دماغش کافر است
غریبای گم کردہ اند افلاک را
در شکم جویند جان پاک را!
رنگ و بو از تن نگیرد جان پاک
جز بقرن کارے ندارد اشتراک
دین آن پیغمبر حق ناشناس
بر مساوات شکم دارد اسامی
تا اخوت را مقام اندر دل است
پیغم او در دل نہ در آب و گل است

Iqbal says that Marx's theory of communism concerns with the body alone and on equality of stomachs. But the real centre of fraternity is the heart and therefore the root of fraternity is in the heart and not in food and soil. So Marx's theory represents the other extreme. Islam advocates a social system, which incorporates the apparently contradictory tendencies of human nature in one system—democracy, dictatorship and communism.

تاندانی نکتہ اکل حلال
 بر جماعت زیستن گردد وبال
 او یورپ زین مقام آگاه نیست
 چشم او ینظر بنور الله نیست
 او نداند از حلال و از حرام
 حکمتش خام است و کارش نا تمام
 امتے بر امتے دیگر چرد
 دانه این می کارد - آن حاصل برد
 از ضعیفان نان ربودن حکمت است
 از تن شان جان ربودن حکمت است
 شیوہ تہذیب نو - آدم دری است
 پردہ آدم دری - سوداگری است
 این بنوک این فکر چالاک یہود
 نور حق از سینہ آدم ربود
 تا تہ و بالا نہ گردد این نظام
 دانش و تہذیب و دیں - سوداے خام
 (پس چه باید کرد - صفحہ 37, 38)

Islam unlike communism accepts the right of

freedom of every individual, but keeps the selfishness of the individual under control by a moral law. It disallows all income derived by *haram* methods. Income from bribery, gambling and speculation is disallowed. It does not allow a person to hoard the elementary necessities of life for profiteering. It does not allow economic strangulation of the people by allowing one person or a group of persons to hold the monopoly of production. Then the individual is not allowed to spend the wealth he has acquired according to his own will, but through those channels only which are determined by the religious law. The use of silk or gold is forbidden. Similar is the case with erection of large buildings. Gambling, adultery, musical concerts are prohibited. A moderate standard of living is prescribed for all. Whatever is left over, a Muslim should spend it in public welfare and in charitable institutions.

با مسلمان گفت جاں بر کف بندہ

هر چه از حاجت فزون داری بده

(جاوید نامہ - صفحہ 91)

Islam also provides for premature death, permanent physical disability or old age. The wealthy people are taxed at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ % per annum, and this money is collected in the *Bait-ul-Mal* (the Public Treasury). Bare necessities of life are provided to everybody by the state.

Iqbal prescribes one remedy for all these ills.

Follow the Divine Law and all these troubles will vanish.

نقش قرآن تا دریں عالم نشست
نقشہائے کائنات و پاپا شکست
فاش گویم آنچه در دل مضمراست
این کتاف نیست چیزے دیگر است !
چوں بجاں در رفت جاں دیگر شود
جاں چو دیگر شد جہاں دیگر شود

(جاوید نامہ - صفحہ 90)

But it will definitely be misleading, if we stop here. When Iqbal talks of a group or nation or Millat, he means the Muslim Millat only. For the development of the Muslim nation, Iqbal frames regulations and describes laws. Poetry is a very incomplete apparatus for explaining science. Even technical subjects of a literary type, like economics or civics cannot be fully explained in poetry. Poetry has got its own technique and language which is suitable for expressing poetic thought only. If we replace this poetic language by a more precise and exact form of speech, which is devoid of simile and trope, it remains poetry no more. And science must be written in a non-poetic language, which is clear, precise, terse and concise : no ambiguity, no high flown words, no idioms, no flowery phrases. We pass through economics, civics, history and biography till we reach the other extreme where poetry is situated. In poetry the beauty of style and phrase, coloured ideas and bright words are not only desirable but

necessary. Iqbal has related his theme—The Philosophy of Life: a semi-scientific subject, in poetry. It is very creditable that his poetry stands at a very high level, and he has succeeded in describing his theme in sufficiently precise words.

Language is an inadequate medium to express human thought. We learn a foreign language in advanced age. In the earlier stages of the study, we find it extremely difficult to express our thoughts fully in a foreign language. The ideas are there but we lack words. Familiar phrases and words of our own mother-tongue come to our mind, when foreign words are lacking. In the same way, when ideas have developed in our own mother-tongue, words fail to express the fine shades of meaning, or to cover the vastness of ideas. Poetry, with its limited field, suffers still more from this defect. We have, therefore, to refer to the prose works of Iqbal for more precise ideas on the subject. *Asrar* appeared in the year 1915 and *Rumuz* soon after. We all mature in ideas as we proceed further in space. The same is true of Iqbal. In December, 1928 Iqbal was invited to deliver a series of lectures at Madras. These six lectures have been published in a book form and are named *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*. In this book Iqbal discusses his views regarding the Muslim view of the philosophy of life. We should add these views of Iqbal to the ideas contained in *Asrar* and *Rumuz* to complete the picture. One lecture entitled 'The Principle of Movement in the

Structure of Islam ' (pp. 146-180, 1944 edition) is of special interest to us.

We will now take up the ideas of Iqbal as given in this lecture : Movement in the Structure of Islam. "As a cultural movement Islam rejects the old static view of the universe, and reaches a dynamic view. As an emotional system of unification it recognizes the worth of an individual as such, and rejects blood-relationship as a basis of human unity." (p. 148) Human life is spiritual in its origin and not earth-rooted. '*Tawhid*' is the principle of Islam, and it demands loyalty to God: the ultimate spiritual basis of all life. According to Islam, the spiritual basis of Islam is eternal and reveals itself in a variety and perpetual change. A society based on these principles must reconcile the categories of permanence and change. The principle of movement in the structure of Islam is known as '*Ijtihad*'. We will discuss here the principles of that type of '*Ijtihad*' which allow 'complete authority in legislation'.

The word '*Ijtihad*' means to exert, and in Islamic law it means to exert with a view to form an independent judgment on a legal question. (p. 148) The accepted sources of Mohammedan Law (Fiqh) are : (a) The Quran, (b) The Hadith, (c) The Ijma, (d) The Qiyas.

(a) The primary source is the *Quran*. The main purpose of the *Quran* is to cultivate in man the consciousness of relation between God and man, God and universe. The *Quran* contains a

few rules of a legal nature, but its ultimate aim is man's higher life.

The outlook of Quran is dynamic ; it is favourable to the idea of evolution. But it is inherent in man's nature to look back on the past achievements, when proceeding forward with his new programmes of life. Therefore life is a combination of evolutionary thought combined with conservation.

The legal principles contained in the Quran are very broad and act as awakener of human thought. The early doctors of Muslim Law from the groundwork contained in the Quran evolved a number of legal systems. The four schools of law are well known. These are individual interpretations of Islam and therefore cannot claim finality. "I know," says Iqbal, "the Ulama of Islam claim finality for the popular schools of Mohammedan Law, though they never found it possible to deny the theoretical possibility of a complete *Ijtihad*." (p. 168). In modern times human thought has developed considerably, and this attitude of Ulamas should not be maintained any longer. "The claim of the present generation of Muslim liberals to reinterpret the foundational legal principles, in the light of their own experience and the altered conditions of modern life is, in my opinion, perfectly justified." (p. 168). According to the Quran, life is a process of progressive creation, therefore every generation should be allowed to solve its problems in the light of its own experience.

The Hadith.—These have been the subject of discussion : are they all genuine ? It is not the proper place to take up this question. “Abu Hanifa (Imam of one of the schools of Mohammedan Law), who had a keen insight into the universal character of Islam, made practically no use of these traditions. The fact that he introduced the principle of ‘*Istihsan*,’ i. e., juristic preference, which necessitates a careful study of actual conditions in legal thinking, throws further light on the motives which determined his attitude towards this source of Mohammedan Law.” (p. 172). “On the whole the attitude of Abu Hanifa towards the traditions of a purely legal import is to my mind perfectly sound ; and if modern Liberalism considers it safer not to make any indiscriminate use of them as a source of law, it will be only following one of the greatest exponents of Mohammedan Law in Sunni Islam.” (p. 172).

(c) *The Ijma.*—It is perhaps the most important legal notion. In early Islam *Ijma* invoked great discussions, but after the time of the first four Caliphs, it ceased to exert any influence. It was in the interests of the Umyyad and Abbasid Caliphs to give the powers of *Ijma* in the hands of a few individuals, called *Mujtahids* who acted according to the directions of the Caliph. If a permanent elected or selected assembly was formed, it might have become too powerful. “It is, however, extremely satisfactory to note that the pressure of new world forces and the political experience of European

nations are impressing on the mind of modern Islam the value and possibilities of the idea of *Ijma*. The growth of republican spirit, and the gradual formation of legislative assemblies in Muslim lands constitute a great step in advance." (p. 173).

If an *Ijma* of the Companions of the Prophet has decided a certain legal point, are later generations bound to obey that decision? "I venture to think, on the authority of Karkhi, that later generations are not bound by the decision of the companions. Says Karkhi: 'The *Sunnah* of the companions is binding in matters which cannot be cleared up by *Qiyas*, but it is not so in matters which can be established by *Qiyas*.'" (p. 175).

It should clearly be understood that the *Ijma* has got no authority to repeal any part of the Quran, just as no tradition of the Prophet has got this authority.

(d) *The Qiyas*.—It means the use of analogical reasoning in drawing conclusions. Speculative reason and logic is used in legislation. Islam conquered many countries, where the conditions were different as compared with Arabia. The followers of Imam Abu Hanifa found little guidance from the literature of traditions. They used speculative reason in their interpretation. The legists of Iraq applied Aristotelean logic in *Qiyas*. The legists of Hijaz objected to this method and said that this would turn the Law of Islam into a kind of lifeless mechanism. Thus the limitations, conditions and correctives of *Qiyas* were critically defined, and

these serve as the source of life and movement in the law of Islam. The legists of Iraq attached more importance to the *eternal* aspect of the 'notion,' while the legists of Hijaz laid more stress on the *temporal* aspect. These discussions "emancipated the concrete as it were, and brought out the necessity of observing the actual movement and variety of life in the interpretation of juristic principles. Thus the school of Abu Hanifa which fully assimilated the results of this controversy is absolutely free in its essential principle and possess much greater power of creative adaptation than any other school of Mohammedan Law." Properly understood and applied, the essential principle of this school, *i.e.*, *Qiyas*, as Shafa'i rightly says is only another name for *Ijtihad* which, within the limits of the revealed texts, is absolutely free." (p. 177). Due to intellectual laziness, in this age, Islam has closed the door of *Ijtihad*. There is no justification for adopting this attitude in the foundational principles or the structure of Islam. "Equipped with penetrative thought and fresh experience the world of Islam should courageously proceed to the work of reconstruction before them." (p. 178). Taking these facts into consideration the Musalmans should be the most emancipated people on earth. "Let the Muslim of today appreciate his position, reconstruct his social life in the light of ultimate principles, and evolve, out of the hitherto partially revealed purpose of Islam, that spiritual democracy which is the ultimate aim of Islam." (p. 179).

CHAPTER VII

Factors which Develop a Free Nation

We have discussed those factors which, according to Iqbal, build up and develop a free individual and a free nation. It will be in keeping with this subject to examine those factors which European authorities of modern socialistic sciences consider necessary for the development of a nation.

These factors, which the European scholars profess, are necessary for the development of a nation, may differ from the factors described by Iqbal. This does not mean that the work and the usefulness of Iqbal's creative genius is reduced to nothingness. This does not mean that Iqbal's great thoughts which he evolved as a rose-garden of poetry have ceased to exert their influence on the masses. Iqbal's chief aim was to produce an awakening. His main idea was to shake off the *lethargy* of the Eastern people and to kindle in their mind the fire of active life. He has apparently succeeded in it; and his literature will continue to exert the same influence for a long time in future. This monograph too is a proof of the same affect. The world changes and we change our line of action to achieve success accordingly. Difference of opinion is a healthy sign of

improvement, as long as the opposing forces do not produce a clash which destroys both. The two should come to a mutual understanding and then unitedly exert their influence.

We give below, for your consideration, the factors of nationality as admitted by Western scholars. There are two main classes of factors :

I. Material factors, II. Non-material or spiritual factors.

I. The material factors are :

1. Race
2. Homeland
3. State
4. Economic conditions

II. The non-material factors are :

1. Language
2. Religion
3. National Literature
4. Tradition
5. Education
6. Culture and Civilization
7. Laws
8. Oppression
9. The will to be a nation.

These four material and nine non-material factors control all the functions which are connected with nationality, in one form or another. They cover all the phases of national life, and it is believed that the origin, development and survival of a nation are intimately connected with these factors one way or the other. Some of these are connected with certain activities of national life more than other factors. For this reason

when we examine one set of activities of national life, this one set of factors seems to be the soul of national activities. Again, when we analyse national life from another point of view, we discover another set of factors at work. It is possible that a certain nation may not get chances of developing all its departments and, therefore, the factors connected with the excluded departments may not be at work in this atmosphere. It is also possible that an observer may examine national activity from one point of view only, and therefore, according to his estimation, other factors may be inactive or undesirable.

It should, however, be clearly understood from the very beginning, that all these 13 factors act in the same sphere. They act on national life and react on one another. The total effect therefore is a very complex one. This *resultant effect* produces a state of mind in the individual and in the society which generates and develops nationality. It is a sentiment which it is not possible to describe in words : a complex sentiment which one can feel but cannot express.

Now we will proceed to describe briefly the influence of each one of these factors on nationality.

I. Material Factors

(1) *Race*.—One of the oldest theories says that race is the basis of nationality. Persons who belong to a certain race are alike in outward appearance, habits and character. They create a sympathetic

atmosphere and a like-mindedness in the group. *In the primitive stages of civilization, and in the primitive stages of development of a nation, race is, undoubtedly, the basic sentiment which acts as a cement to bind the sympathies of the individuals together. It is one of the origins of nationality and strongly promotes national feelings.* We can easily draw out this conclusion from the history of any nation. We find, however, in the world that most of the nationalities do not comprise a single race. There are many races which do not make a nation. Hence we conclude that race alone cannot serve as the basis of nationality.

The term 'race' is used by different authorities to express different meanings. In general there are four kinds of races :

- (a) Biological race
- (b) Linguistic race
- (c) Cultural race
- (d) Historical or political race.

(a) *Biological race.*—Members of a biological race have got a common ancestry: They have got a common blood running in their veins. The main races of the world are: Aryan, Semitic, Hemitic Mongolian, Dravidian, Negro, etc., and then we have the mixtures of these races: Mongoloid, Negroid, etc. The anthropologist uses purely physical data to classify human beings into different races or sub-races. His distinguishing marks are: stature, shape and dimensions of the skull, shape and relative size of the various parts

of the body, shape and size of the various organs which constitute the face, colour of the skin, etc. Each race has got its own mental characteristics. Therefore members of the same biological race react in the same way under a certain set of circumstances.

(b) *Linguistic race*.—A certain group of people speaks a language. We study relations of one language with another, and thus classify languages into larger and larger groups. It is believed that people who now speak languages, which are included in the same linguistic family, at some remote period, were intimately connected with one another and had a common ancestor. But history proves that language and race are two separate conceptions. A conquering group, often, imposes its language on the conquered people. There is a possibility that people who speak the same language may belong to the same biological stock, but it is not essential.

(c) *Cultural race*.—A common civilization flourishes in a certain area. Mughals in India, Romans in Eastern Mediterranean, Egypt and Western Asia produced a common culture. Jews, all over the world, in modern times, form one cultural group. The members of this group and others begin to think that they belong to the same race. But common civilization does not necessarily denote a common ancestry. History shows that differences of language and race do not check the spread of a common culture in a certain area.

Historical or political race.—When a group has got the same historical background, it develops common attitudes and tendencies. Due to political atmosphere the characteristics of the individuals become alike. Such a group rather belongs to the same Nation, than to the same Race. A race is physical in nature, but a nation is spiritual.

There is no pure race in any part of the modern world. Due to military, political and cultural campaigns, there has been an intermixture of races from very remote times. Very small groups, like Druzes and Kurds, which live in a geographical seclusion, may succeed in retaining the purity of their race. Such small groups cannot develop nationalities. *History proves that no single pure race has succeeded in building up a nationality.* It is rather the history of co-operation and conflict of many racial groups which fuses the groups and converts them into nationalities.

The race of a national group is accepted to be that race to which the majority of the members belong. By intermarriages a common race comes into existence all over the area. The members even create traditions of common origin, although they do not belong to a common race, and this feeling produces a strong sense of nationality. The racial feeling is a powerful agent which awakens the spirit of kinship and unites people to form a nation. Each race has got a prejudice regarding its own superiority and the inferiority of other races.

(2) *Homeland*.—A part of the globe, in which a nation flourishes, affects and is affected by the environment, in which it propagates its values, is called the *Homeland* of that nation. On the other hand, if an individual lives in a land, but this land does not affect him morally and spiritually, it will be called his *country* and not his homeland. An Indian child is taken to England at the age of three. He is educated there, and when he is about twenty years of age comes back to India and passes the remaining part of his life here. This person, we may very well say, has got England as his homeland and India as his country.

Historical research has made it clear that no nation can take birth or survive without a national homeland. Homeland is a potent material factor which keeps up the spirit of nationality. Inside the borders of homeland comes into existence the literature, culture, language, religion and traditions which belong to a certain nation and which give to that nation its peculiar stamp: its individuality. Without the special mental associations the geographical tract would lose its charm, warmth and sanctity.

National homeland creates, in the minds of the individuals, a persistent and vigorous expression of love for their nation. Without homeland, which serves as the material nucleus, national activities cannot be transformed into facts; they remain a fascinating dream. A nation cannot command respect, in the eyes of others, without a homeland.

In fact according to modern authorities without a homeland a nation cannot exist. Homeland is the symbol of nationality. Members of a nation, instead of calling the land by their name, name themselves by the homeland: They call themselves Iranians or Chinese or Arabs.

Generally natural barriers as mountain ridges, rivers, etc., serve as the boundary-lines of two national homelands. But it is not essential. Boundaries can be made artificially, and the usefulness of homeland still remains the same. Homeland is an essential factor for producing nationality. The chances of survival of a national group are directly proportional to the amount of political and social control of its homeland.

(3) *State*.—The state has got peculiar powers, sanctioned by the civilized world. It frames and applies political law; a power which no other association possesses. The compulsion implied is unconditional, as well as socialized; and this law applies to all the members of the State. The State covers the whole territory in its jurisdiction and has got force in its possession to maintain the law.

In this way the State has got powers and functions which no other organization possesses. Our *social, religious, economic or cultural organizations fail to perform those functions in which the state easily succeeds. But the state cannot replace those organizations in its functions which cultivate and express the beliefs, opinions and ideals of the complicated modern world.*

As regards the functions of the State, there is an everlasting controversy. These functions differ under different conditions and in different periods. The *totalitarian view* is that the State should take over all the functions of society, and control the rights, duties, etc.—the complete life of all the individuals. In practice, there are always limitations imposed by mores and folkways of the community.

The State alone has got certain powers : order and peace, standardization of units and values, limitation of powers of individuals and societies and co-ordination of various organizations. The activities of the modern world are based on contractual system. The State provides an assurance that these contracts will be carried out by the individuals or organizations. If these contracts are broken the police and law courts will take up the case.

The State keeps in view the interests of the whole community and does not allow reckless individual exploitation. It controls the resources of the community : mineral wealth, forests, wild life, fisheries, railways, roads, labour, etc. The State can develop material and mental resources of the community by framing certain laws. It guides the destinies of the educational system, because only a State can understand the past, present and future of the community as a whole.

The State is an important factor which develops national feeling among people. In some European quarters, it is believed that the State produces

nationality. The kingdoms of France, Germany and Italy came into existence before these people developed a full sense of nationality. The respective states classified the idea of nationality in due course ; hence some European authorities believe that state comes first and nationality afterwards. It may not be so, but history has proved that no nation can develop to its full growth unless it possesses a state of its own. The State is an essential part of a nation. It represents that nation. It can frame laws and institutions which will produce similarity in the mentality of the people. Schools are an important channel through which a national government can cultivate national patriotism. School books inflame national pride, and propagate the programme of the nation. A common official language, imposed by state, gives unity to the people. When the government pursues this policy, for a sufficiently long time, it can mould the manners and disposition of the masses. Then a specified national temper is produced which cultivates the spirit of nationality. A nation, which is under a foreign government, spends all its energies in obtaining political freedom. The sovereign power does not give it sufficient freedom to develop national characteristics.

(4) *Economic conditions*.—As we develop more in the atmosphere of modern civilization, the economic forces encroach more and more on the various aspects of our life. The economic structure is wider than the political structure. It extends

beyond the boundaries of its own state and covers the whole world. There is some direct or indirect economic relation of one country of the world, with the other. Economics is primarily concerned with the acquisition and distribution of wealth. But in modern times the solidarity of a political system is based on economics ; modern wars are the outcome of uneven distribution of economic resources.

We find that economics plays a great part in the constructive programme of a nation. It is necessary to co-relate the political and economic forces of a country for the advancement of the community. The density of population in various parts of a country is regulated by economics. Industrial areas are thickly populated. Civilization flourishes in thickly populated areas. In the nineteenth and the twentieth century, after the Industrial Revolution, economic forces have played such an important part in Europe that most of the historical movements can be traced as the result of certain economic causes.

Material interests bring about the union of certain tribes or groups : the large group, thus formed, sometimes acquires the attributes of a nation due to other factors working in the field. It may be due to the feeling of economic oppression or economic development. Economics, however, is not a fundamental factor of nationality. If a group of people possesses other elements which develop national spirit and develop nationality, the

economic forces may strengthen the national factors and produce a strong national atmosphere.

II. Non-material Factors

After having studied the material factors we now proceed to discuss the non-material (spiritual) factors. The first spiritual factor is language.

1. *Language*.—We find that almost in all parts of the world the linguistic and national boundaries coincide. There is, therefore, an intimate relation between a national group and its language. Nations always try to preserve their mother-tongue if an attempt is made to suppress it. Language is acknowledged as the most important factor which establishes the identity of a nation and maintains an atmosphere in which the national spirit can flourish. This is called the national language of that nation.

We express our ideas through language, and receive information regarding facts through language. Language has got a control over the ways in which a person expresses his ideas. An uneducated person and a highly cultured man express their feelings in very different ways. In our social relations language plays a very important part. A person who speaks a foreign language is taken to be a foreigner by us. Language is a visible element which proves the likeness of one person to another.

The genius of each language is different. It is not possible to translate or fully express the words and phrases of one language in another. Our

ideas assume the garb of that language in which we speak. Hence every group speaking a certain language has got its peculiar words, phrases and idioms as well as expressions which act as codes of morals, and ways and methods which are the product of the genius of the language spoken by the group.

The national literature is the national inheritance of a people. This is written in their national language. Members of a nation are saturated with ideas, morals, stories and sentiments provided by this literature. It becomes a code of morals and an unwritten law for them. The mind of the nation is moulded in that channel. Hence language has got a direct bearing on the national character of a group.

A nation must have a common language. This will give to the group, in the long run, a common national character. Some authorities attach greater importance to language than to race, in the development of a nation. With a foreign language as the medium, a nation cannot express its mind fully. Therefore, it must use its own tongue as the national language. Nations are often bilingual. One is the first mother tongue spoken in the homes. The second mother tongue is the literary and official language of the area. Sometimes the first mother tongue and the second mother tongue are the same, in certain areas.

Language is an indispensable factor in the formation of nationality. No nation can develop

unless it possesses beforehand a sufficiently cultivated language, which is named as the language of that nation. However, history shows that nationality is not based on language. There are more than two nations which speak the same language, e.g., English, Scotch, American. There are some nations, the sub-groups of which speak different languages. Three languages are spoken in different parts of Switzerland.

2. *Religion*.—Some centuries ago religion played a very important part in all the spheres of life. Religion created parties, communities and nations. It determined social relations, habits and customs. In modern times the functions of life have become very complicated : many controlling forces have come in the field, and religion is one of them. As we go forward in space, other forces, like the social and economic are becoming more prominent and religion is gradually yielding place to them.

In old days religious practices were the social ceremonies of a nation. National sentiment was controlled by religion. A religious sanctity was given to these functions by the belief of supernatural intervention through religion. The temple was a place of worship, a school and a meeting place of the public. Religion was national religion as well as state religion in the real sense of the word. *Religion was used as an agency to cultivate national spirit.* But in modern times, religion is used as an agent for social development. *It is not*

but a tool for other aims. The political propagandist, the social worker, the educationist, the revolutionary, all make an approach to the heart of people through the sanctity of religion.

In modern national life religion is not the most important binding force. Many states profess to have no state religion. Religious belief is considered to be the private affair of an individual. Most of the modern nationalities have got in them groups of people, who profess conflicting religions : English, French, German, Italian. America is a peculiar example. American nationality has developed recently. From its very beginning, *i.e.*, the *Declaration of Independence by America*, religious element has been entirely excluded from national life. Religious toleration is a modern movement. But history proves that in general, religion has never been so strong a factor in a nation as language. Religious freedom is essential for the full development of civilization. However, we find that in certain cases, religion has served as the basis of nationality, *e.g.*, Jews, Japanese, Arabs. It is more so in the East than in the West.

A certain religion has got marked effect on its followers. It permits certain beliefs and practices and disallows others. The spirit of a religion controls the character of people, who follow that religion. On these lines religious beliefs may retard or promote the scientific progress of a people. Literary and scientific knowledge is applied towards social progress. The development of a

group depends upon the facilities provided by religion.

We find that there are many nations which profess the same religion ; and in other nations there are groups who profess many religions. Hence religion cannot be named the essence of nationality. Religion, however, imposes upon the individual certain moral laws, social and semi-religious practices, and thus moulds their ideas into certain channels. The members of the nation remove conflicting points and they are closely bound together.

3. *National Literature*.—Certain elements form both the cause and effect of nationality. They are national literature, tradition, education and culture. The national atmosphere is created and moulded by these elements. As the nation develops, it produces new literature, new methods of education, etc. This new atmosphere now moulds the mental activities of the nation and coming generations are mentally a product of this atmosphere.

We take national literature, to start with. National literature inspires the members of a group. It may not create a nation : but it keeps the nation alive. It awakens the dormant sentiments. National and patriotic poetry produces a warm atmosphere for the political propagandist.

National heroes mould the character of people. They are the idol of the whole nation and they infuse common character in the masses. Thus a

uniformity of behaviour is the result. The fictional literature : drama novel and short story reveal the mind and character of a certain age. They effect the following age. Literature is the record of common sufferings and glories of a nation. History is the common possession of all the individuals. National hopes are described in literature and people try to achieve them.

Many movements have matured through the agency of literature. The conquests of the paper army may exceed the conquest of a politician or a general in their permanence and vastness. A national poet plays a great part in propagating the programme of a nation. His message, good or bad, unconsciously penetrates the hearts of people. He can raise or demoralize a nation. Cheap authors are a great danger to a nation.

Literature should create unity and solidarity. It should be capable of leading the nation towards a common programme. It should be a suitable mixture of artistic element and suggestive lines of action. Literature, therefore, is not a fundamental factor of nationality but describes and propagates the essentials of nationality.

4. *Tradition*.—Tradition, in general, is the name given to an idea, custom or practice which comes down from the previous generations and is universally accepted and honoured by the whole group. It includes in certain ways religion, language, literature, customs, habits and a certain which is peculiar to the mentality of that

people. Tradition keeps changing, to suit the new conditions of the nation.

Here we will take up that tradition only, which is the hidden spiritual element, and moulds the mentality and character of people. Tradition consists of certain recollections and practices which have become sacred to the nation. Tradition is the unwritten law, which permeates the mind of the whole nation. Sometimes a tradition is historically wrong, but its power of moulding the tendencies is in no way mitigated.

The traditions constitute the national atmosphere. They cannot be removed as a whole. Gradual changes can be produced in them. Thus the traditions are continuous. According to some authorities the tradition is the soul of a nation ; and the nation survives as long as the soul survives. It is the inner voice of a people, which unites them into a group. It is a pride which cannot be replaced by geography, numbers or wealth. Traditions cannot be destroyed by a conqueror, and, if kept up vigorously, can revive a nation.

Through the tradition the young mind learns to love his own group, and to hate the enemy group. Lullabies, ballads and folk-songs, learnt in childhood, have a permanent effect on the individual. The words may be forgotten later, but the substance is never forgotten. To remain alive, a nation must have an aim in view. The spirit of the conquest of that aim is kept alive by common songs, stories,

The schools and colleges run on certain traditions ; and the younger generations try to keep up to the standards laid down by these traditions.

The national atmosphere is full of tradition of that nation. A person unconsciously gets saturated with traditions. It is a natural process, which does not submit to the desire of a person. The ideals of a person are formed accordingly. When a person goes in a foreign land, he carries these ideals with him. We therefore find that the tradition plays an important part in creating a national atmosphere, and in rejuvenating a nation.

5. *Education*.—Education is the most important implement for creating national atmosphere. Through education we can mould the character of youth into determined forms. The habits, actions and ideas of the members of a nation become alike and the group becomes

The nation creates the educational system and the system creates the new generations. In this way ultimately a balance is set up, and the system of national education corresponds to certain ideals which the nation possesses.

Education fashions the national character and imparts discipline of life. The character of educational system depends upon the authority which controls it. There may be communal bodies, religious bodies, or the government who run the schools. The Educational System of a nation should be directly under the control of the government, so that no discordant note is mixed in the

concord of national atmosphere. In communal institutions, the students are imbued with communal ideas, and this is against the national unity.

All the persons should be given primary education. Their talents and gifts should be tested, and the best brains should be given free chances to proceed further with higher education. In this way all the best brains of the nation will be useful to the nation. Nations and men develop by dint of discovery, capacity and intellect. Equal chances should be afforded to all the children of the nation.

National education should have a national colour. Mother tongue should be the medium. National history, geography, and national ideals should be included in the junior classes. National education produces a community of common ideas, a similar understanding regarding the judgement of right and wrong. It is through education that the great deeds of a nation are transmitted to the coming generations. Through education a nation learns its programme of life and works out its destiny. Culture represents the national characteristics; and culture is acquired through education. Continuity of these characteristics is managed through education, and the nation continues to live.

Education is superior to other factors of nationality, viz., race, language, religion, etc., in one respect at least. These factors exert their influence indirectly, while education does its work directly. *We publish the future programme of the nation, we write in black and white, desires, needs*

possibilities. Education puts the individual in a certain frame of mind. Man leads the world, and education makes the man.

Education levels the ideas, position and status of human beings. It raises individuals to the common standard in society. True education aims at general development of the body, mind and character.

6. *Culture and Civilization*.—Culture and civilization, although connected, are two different phenomena of the living organism. Culture deals with the material surrounding of man, and how this surrounding affects the individual. Dress, methods of transport, ways of life, all are included in the realm of culture. Civilization is the development of soul, the inner self of man to a higher level: the sense of abstract justice, appreciation of fine arts, the love of truth.

Culture gives to members of a group likeness in outward appearance, similar manners and customs. Civilization teaches them to think in the same way. Their criterion becomes the same, a uniformity of thought and action is the result. In this way the group becomes more solid. Civilization is the spiritual factor, which inspires unity.

Culture has progressed continuously although not uniformly, age after age. Civilization may improve or deteriorate; and one generation may be superior or inferior to the following generation in civilization. The advancement of culture does not necessarily mean the advancement of civilization.

One generation passes its culture to the following generation, but every individual acquires civilization by training. Culture and civilization are the basis of many living nationalities and give them the distinctive characteristics; but this factor itself depends upon so many other factors for its existence.

7. *Laws*.—Laws are created by human intelligence, as schemes, ideas and institutions are. It is a tragedy of human experience that these creations of the human intelligence get out of the control of its originators and begin to control them. The laws and constitution of a nation are created by the nation, but these control the future programme and fashion the habits of a nation.

Laws come into existence in two ways: (1) the constitution is framed by a body of thinkers, as in U. S. A.; (2) the current law is a gradual development of the old law of the country, as in Germany, France and Italy. In modern times laws and constitution are framed by a group of thinkers. Therefore it is laws which mould the mentality of a nation. The effects are immense and vast.

Law is a great force which influences the temper of a nation. All the members are equally affected by it. The highest and the lowest are ruled by the same law. This imposes certain restrictions on everybody, and also empowers him with a certain amount of freedom. The individual knows his own limits, and of others. The group thus acquires a fundamental unity, and a spirit of

equality prevails all over the area ruled by the same law.

The spirit of law should pervade through the whole nation, and the sanctity of law should be preserved. The national authority should make as well as enforce law. Legal rights are the birth-right of a citizen. "These are my legal rights," should be claimed by everybody.

New laws should be made to keep pace with the changing conditions. Old laws may be revised or absolutely new laws may be framed. The progress is rapid if a new set of suitable laws is made and enforced. A national government can transform the group under its control through the agency of law. Law preserves national unity and strength, as well as devises means of inculcating unity.

8. *Oppression*.—Oppression is not an element of the composition of nationality, but it contributes to its formation. This factor is neither tangible nor direct in action. It rouses the national feeling, when other factors, which compose nationality, are already at work in the field. It is possible that factors of nationality are present in the atmosphere, but no occasion arises to wake up the group consciousness. Oppression supplies the necessary match-stick for the fire of national feeling to kindle. It is possible that many small groups may be oppressed, without developing nationality, because they lack other fundamental factors which constitute nationality.

Oppression is a common element, which acts equally well on all the members of the group. Against this oppression, the individuals develop hopes of freedom, hopes of progress, and hopes of strength through which they will be able to achieve deliverance from this oppression. The group thus becomes a nation. Modern history supplies many examples. France, after the revolution, was oppressed by Germany under Bismark and became a nation. Napoleonic conquests inspired Germany. Various German principalities were united and became a strong nation. Germany from one side and Russia from the other wanted to change the language, culture and traditions of the Poles. This was oppression. The Poles became a united nation: they preserved their language and culture and thus their nationality. The Christian people believed that it was an oppression to remain under the Muslim Moors. Other Christian nations of Europe helped them to obtain freedom. Spain emerged as a revived nation. In India British rule was taken to be an oppression by all the groups. The various sects thus became united and the national spirit came into action.

When by legal or physical force efforts are made to replace the language, religion and culture of a people and thus to destroy their nationality, the results are always reverse of the desired results. Under this oppression the nation takes a rebirth.

We have been discussing the oppression of one nation on another. Now let us consider the

oppression of one group on another, in the same nation.

A major group oppresses a minor group. We may call them a major nation, and a minor nation in the same geographical boundaries. The major nation always tries to absorb the minor nation, linguistically, culturally and mentally. The usual results of oppression follow. The minor nation becomes steadfast in its beliefs. The two get more and more separated, till it is possible that the smaller group may claim to be a separate nation. Oppression may be physical, mental or economic. It proves to be useful only when other factors of nationality have been at work in the field for some time.

9. *The Will to be a Nation.*—Some authorities attach great importance to this factor. They say that common language, race, culture: all the necessary elements, may be present, but the group will not acquire national attributes until it creates 'the will to be a nation.' Later, the factors may become weak, but as long as the will is active, national spirit flourishes. It is not necessary that all the members should possess this consciousness, but it is necessary that the majority of members should have this will. How is this will created? The material and spiritual factors of nationality are working in the field, common traits produce a group likeness and develop national consciousness. This action is not perceivable but is irresistible. Thus the other factors produce the will to be a nation.

National consciousness comes to the individual through crowd psychology which is different from the individual psychology. Crowd responds to those appeals which are general and de-individualized; these come to him through society. The individual thinks in terms of the group: progress and development of the group. He sacrifices his personal interests for the sake of his nation: his life and property. *But it should be remembered that national prestige is never offered to a nation as a gift; it is always conquered.*

Modern world is abused by the propagandist. Sometimes the agitator or the literature-monger creates an artificial atmosphere, in which the national spirit and the will to be a nation begins to flourish. This desire was forced on the individual, and *did not come from his inside*. This will soon die out. That "Will" is only lasting which is *born inside the heart of a person*, by the complex of circumstances around him. History shows that nations in general are not a creation of deliberate Will, but are produced by gradual development. "Will", however, plays an important part in the characteristic development and active survival of a group, as a nation. It develops the special traits of character by which a nation is distinguished from others. In modern times, political authorities have always decided the claims of a group to separate nationality, by this "Will" of that group.

Of these 13 factors we find some are more

important than others. Some of these are subordinate to other factors and do not work independently. We find that those factors which play the most important part in originating and building up a nationality are : homeland, language, religion, race, state.

Within a nation there is a majority community, and one or more minority communities. It is possible that the total number of individuals of the majority community, may be less than the total of all the rest put together. But majority community is the legal controller of nationality. A minority community, in strength of numbers, may be very near the majority community. It may possess certain traits of nationality, and supposing it develops national consciousness. The mental state of this minority community becomes painful. It demands rights. The majority community suppresses the demands, and keeps in view its own requirements. There is a clash. If the minority community is weak, the majority crushes it, and reduces its chances of progress. If the minority is strong, and can assert itself, it separates and becomes an independent nation.

League of Nations in Europe used to decide all political points of controversy. The minority problem was the bitterest and the most difficult for them. However, they decided the rights of a group to be classed as a minority community within a nation or as a separate nation, on the basis of Language, Religion and Race. These three were

the fundamental factors of distinction. To these we have added homeland and state, as without these two, according to all accepted political theories, a group cannot be called a nation. A nation must have a homeland, which should be called the home of that nation; and it must have its own government. In the homeland it establishes its own government, makes laws and the spirit of the nation begins to breathe and speak through these laws.

Islam preaches that Muslims should extend their sympathies beyond the borders of their own race, colour and country. Muslims all over the world are brethren; they have got equal rights. For them the whole of the world is a mosque. The home of a Muslim is the whole world. But this does not mean that Islam demolishes or forgets the boundaries created by country and race. This would mean paying no heed to your home, your kith and kin, your property and to those factors which give you strength and stability in life. It has never been so and will never be so. It was present before Islam. It was present during the Golden Age of Islam, and has continued after that. Islam, a practical religion, would never frame laws which cannot be obeyed. From the practical point of view, if these two factors are to be completely neglected, the problem approaches impossibility. Therefore, Islam first grants that there will be family groups in a country which will unite and make larger groups in the form of clans or tribes;

these will unite to form still larger groups, communities or nations. But Islam, at the same time, imposes a duty on all the Muslims not to confine their sympathies and interests within the boundaries of their own country. One country or kingdom, race or colour should meet another on equal ground and behave as brethren. Islam preaches inter-nationalism on the basis of nationalism. With Ka'ba as the centre of the whole Muslim world and *Khalifat-ul-Muslimin* as the spiritual and political head of all the Muslim lands. Islam framed a law by help of which disputes, clashes and fights among the Muslim nations and countries would be reduced to a minimum. The idea is the same as of an international supreme council which would control the affairs of the whole world. Otherwise to reduce the whole world to one nationality, by removing the barriers of cast, creed, colour, language and race, considering the diverse climatic and geographical conditions of the various parts of the world, from the practical point of view, sounds like a myth. Islam, the last and the most practical religion, would not frame laws which have got no practical possibility.

Before closing the discussion we may consider the question: 'What is nationality.' We have considered above, 13 factors which constitute or develop nationality but what is nationality itself. There are many theories. The theory of *corporate sentiment* is taken to be the best. Nationality is a sentiment of sympathy towards all physical

spiritual objects like homeland, religion, and race, which constitute national life. The members of a nation prefer their own elements of nationality compared to the elements of other nationalities and sometimes have got a definite hatred for others. The essence of nationality is a spiritual attachment to the nation.

The devotees of a nationality are prepared to sacrifice all they possess, for the sake of their nation. With them nationality is a religion. Their creed is the progress of their national ideals, the fulfilment of the mission of that nation.

A nationality is a section of civilized humanity. They have got a spiritual union among them, a unity which is infused in them by the subjective corporate sentiment. Through the factors of nationality, given above, a nation exhibits its national sentiments. Through these the individual satisfies his desire for existence of his nationality. A nationality comes into existence to satisfy its own needs of self-expression, self-preservation and expansion. But a nationality flourishes when it has got in view a certain aim and conquest, fine arts, letters, language, etc. Civilization, in general, is an aim, which is limitless and therefore, nationality can go on expanding and flourishing. This ideal of the nation distinguishes it from other national groups.

Modern history proves that when a nation creates the Will to become a separate nation, it establishes an ideal, then the nation has established

its separate entity. It also proves that most of the modern nations are the result of some type of oppression. When a group decides to become a nation, it can always find suitable resources, although there is a difficulty in harnessing those resources. The strength of a nation lies in the masses. The leader is the flame, and the masses are the oil on which the flame feeds. It is the brave but unrecorded deeds of the masses which are the real cause of progress of a nation. Without a leader, the efforts of the nation are scattered, and without the masses, the leader is a voice in a sandy waste.

A nation has taken birth when the masses are saturated with the spirit of devotion to their nation. They are prepared to sacrifice their material or spiritual possessions for the sake of their nation. They always keep their own interests subordinate to those of their nation. For them nationality is a faith, and they direct all their energies for the fulfilment of national ideal. Nationality takes birth under these conditions and begins to flourish as a practical fact.

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